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The Ethics of Historical Materialism.

THE ethical teachers of the ruling classes spout forth their endless refrain of the sinfulness of human nature, and draw out long sermons on the necessity of changing human nature by simply embodying in the human brain certain ideas of a so-called altruistic or moral character. But the things of the universe, of which human nature is a part, are neither good nor bad. Ideas of good and evil are but standards made by the human brain. The circulation of matter is eternal, so far as we are able to discern. In a never-ending process of fertilization, of growth, of decay, atom displaces atom, plants come and go, animals and men appear and disappear, worlds develop and pass away. Whether we consider this process good or bad makes no difference. We have been, and still are, drifting particles in this great rush of life. We are swept along by the tide of the universe, whether we like it or not. We are but products of the world process, no worse and no better than it is itself. If there is any SIN in us, it is in the whole universe. If in this process there is developed an intelligence which begins to discriminate between good and evil, it can only be a discrimination between that which is useful and that which is dangerous to its existence and progress. But such a discriminating intelligence is not an attribute of man alone. It is also found among animals far down in the scale, modified only by the possibilities of their physical structure. Such discriminating actions as the selection of the proper food, climate, sanitary locations and surroundings, avoidance of dangers, provision for the future, and the like, are found among even invertebrate animals. And we have but to open our eyes in order to see that human society can learn from such animals as ants and bees how to make co-operation and division of labor a means of amply providing for every member of the community. The majority of men are still far from co-operating consciously for such purposes. More than that, we

may well say without fear of contradiction that no man living today is so fully self-conscious and follows the dictates of his self-consciousness so closely that he always does just that which is ideally correct for his individual and social life. And if there were one so self-conscious and self-controlled, he could not materialize his ideals, because the present social system and the resulting social control over natural forces would prevent him.

Furthermore, if we closely analyze how this intelligence works in the human brain, we find that it is but a process of reactions on external or internal stimuli, all of which are in the last analysis controlled by chemical and physical laws. Without such a physical and chemical basis, there is no intelligence. The functions of our brain so controlled constitute our *soul* life, and the general principles of this process apply to the *soul* life of every particle of matter, whether it be a crystal, a vegetable cell, an animal protoplasm in the amoeba or in the human brain.

Where, then, is the starting point of your ethics, you teachers of conventional morality? Where is the place at which "evil" enters the universe? Where is the moral principle applicable to man which is not at the same time applicable to all of nature? Where and when did *sin* enter the cosmic process? If there is anything pertinent in your ethics, it is the golden rule. And what is there in that rule which did not exist in the relations of every particle of matter from time immemorial? Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you! But that is simply the so-called *conscious* expression of the fact that any atom of the universe is in the same boat with every other atom, and that an injury to one is an injury to all!

The social relations of man are subordinate to this infinite interdependence of every atom in the world process, and we need no other ethical code but the understanding of this process!

When the full significance of this materialistic conception of the world dawns on the intellect of man, he realizes that an injury to his neighbor, whether in the next house, or in the next continent, or on the next planet, is an injury to himself. What you must teach, therefore, is not abstract ethical formulas alleged to stand for all time to come, no mysterious juggling with *good* and *evil*. What is needed, and sufficient, and alone *ethical*, because alone vital and effective, is an understanding of the irresistible process of universal evolution, whether it be natural or social evolution.

With your ethics, you assume that man is a "free moral agent," has a "free" will, and can at any time decide whether he wants to do this or that. But whatever may be said of the so-called free will, science knows that the will of man is the outcome of hereditary qualities transmitted by an evolutionary process as old as the universe, and that this will can become "free" only

to the extent that the brain of man acquires control of his entire environment. The conventional ethics assume that any normal or "average" man is always master of his "free" will under any circumstances, and that any normal man can at any time rise above his entire environment. This is seen to be an utter impossibility when we grasp what the term environment really signifies.

Such a powerful will as the conventional ethics attribute to individuals and to mankind in general, can only be the outcome of a long evolution of the brain. It has never yet been possessed by a sufficient number of human beings to be felt as a social force, as a conscious class movement to rise above class environment. It would have meant nothing less than that ancient slavery would have been abolished, because the slave owners came to the conclusion at a certain historical moment that slavery was immoral; that the feudal lords, the strongest of whom was the great *moral* church, would have decided at a certain historical moment by their own "free" will that serfdom was immoral and abolished it; and that in our times, the capitalist class will arrive at the psychological moment where they, by their own "free" will, may give way to the working class and abolish wage slavery, because they suddenly realize that it is immoral. But we know as a matter of fact that there were thinkers in ancient society who condemned slavery as immoral, and yet it was never abolished until by the development of economic laws it became unfit to survive. And it came to the surface again and again, whenever the economic environment favored it, in spite of thousands of years of *moral* outcries against it, so that, for instance, the pious New Englanders were enabled to make plenty of money out of it, to foster it, and in their turn to condemn it as immoral when they found that wage slavery was more profitable. Serfdom also showed the same vitality in spite of all *moral* raving against it, and flourishes today in the shadow of the Stars and Stripes, as did slavery. So is wage slavery now denounced by the socialists as immoral. And yet the spokesmen of the ruling classes see nothing immoral in it, though it degenerates little children ere they develop a *soul*, though it drives countless innocent women into prostitution, though it is the incentive and motive of every corruption and vice with which modern nations are cursed. The ruling classes, so far from following their own ethical standard, rather defend wage slavery as moral, as the best system in the world. And it will continue in spite of its utter immorality, until the working classes will rise in their political might and remove the last tottering remains of the economic basis on which it grew.

Do I, then, attribute no value whatever to ethical teaching? Do not misunderstand me. If you refer merely to your conven-

tional ethics, I proclaim their utter bankruptcy. But if you ask me whether I believe in *any* ethics, then I proclaim the ethics of the proletarian revolution as the only vital and inspiring force of modern nations.

So long as human society consisted of primitive groups held together by bonds of blood kinship, there was no such thing as a belief in abstract moral forces, in a moral God. Sexual kinship served as the motive that guided all the members within a certain tribe, and these relations often assumed religious shape in cults and devotions. Within the sex group, blood ties and the need of common protection against the wilderness served as sufficient motives to hold the group together. Outside of the group, the "ethical code" prescribed blood revenge, life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth.

When division of labor passed the sex line and grew more specialized, when new economic relations arose in consequence, when the sexual groups were broken to pieces and property relations took their place, the antagonisms and wrongs of the new relations found expression in various moral codes, all of them taking for their basis the traditions of the ancient forms of group life and generally partaking of the character of sanitary rules and general wisdom of life. Gradually with the further shifting of property relations, these ethical codes grew into religions that offered a happy life after death for the lack of happiness here below which no amount of moral teaching was able to procure for the mass of mankind. With this same evolution, the ethical codes grew into "laws" forbidding interference with the "hallowed" property relations and appointing a supernatural God as the chief of police who was at the same time the supreme court and executive of all "authority" here below. Morality became a social code when morality in economic relations had ceased. This stage is reflected in the Mosaic ten commandments, which stand as a monument of a society based on "constituted" authority and unjust property relations, of a moral code grown out of a fundamentally immoral social system. The ten commandments were intended as the constitution of the early Jewish people, but like all constitutions it was soon found necessary to add numerous amendments to them, which we find scattered through Leviticus and the prophets, all of which, however, remained dead letters, much as do the amendments to the United States constitution and that venerable document itself. These religious morals have been preached, in a more or less religious disguise, as long as ten thousand years ago among Egyptians and Babylonians, perhaps not quite so long among the Chinese nations, as long as five thousand years ago among the Jewish people, as long as nineteen hundred years among Christian nations. Yet they never checked to any considerable degree the promptings of the material

interests of the ruling classes, nor palliated the exploitation of one class by another, nor stopped war among the various nations professing these so-called high morals. If they were used as an evolutionary force in historical movements, they were so only to the extent that they served the historical interests of rising social classes or of reactionary classes that used these ideas to maintain their supremacy. This was the case, for instance, with the early Christian teachings, which were finally captured by Constantine when they threatened to become dangerous to the then existing order. It was again the case in the 13th century, when the Franciscan movement, inaugurated by Francis of Assisi, and seeking to revive ancient communism, threatened to become a serious thorn in the side of papal feudalism. The reigning pope then emasculated this proletarian movement by persecuting the working proletariat, who were its vital force, and favoring the loafing proletariat, who were reactionary, until what might have been a truly revolutionary power became a begging appendage to religious feudalism. Francis of Assisi was finally proclaimed a saint, as a reward for his compromise with the papacy, much as a modern labor leader who believes in harmony between starving coal miners and Saint Baer of the coal trust is rewarded by a fat political job. On the other hand, when the reformation arose with its new and allegedly higher ethics than those of the conventional catholic dogma, it survived and expanded only by the help of those elements of Middle Europe whose material interests were served by antagonizing papal feudalism.

So far as any ennobling influence on the character of classes and their historical activity is concerned, we may, therefore, maintain with the full testimony of history behind us that moral teaching of the conventional sort has not had any appreciable influence on material considerations. And we have but to look about us today, to watch what is going on in Colorado, in the Southern states of the Union, in the child industries of America, North and South, in Russia, in Japan, in all so-called civilized countries, in order to realize that moral principles are but flotsam on the stormy seas of material class interests. The ethics of conventional religion and philosophy are not the basic factors of social progress any more than the butterflies that flutter around a pack of wolves are factors in the moral evolution of the wolves.

But, you may say, if not on the action of classes, then our ideas of morality have at least served as factors in the evolution of individuals. I ask: How many individuals among the billions that have lived and passed away in the historical process? How many individuals among the millions who live today? Has vice decreased to any appreciable extent or has it increased? Have crimes disappeared or multiplied? Has the physical or mental well-being of the multitude improved over that of early

human societies in a way that any of you can lay your hand on it and say: "This is the great accomplishment of our morality"? And if there has been any improvement in some social strata, is that due to your morality or to the progress of technique and science?

Christian ethics keeps down the brute in man, you say? I tell you it has quite frequently roused the brute in man, and in its name liberty and justice have been suppressed more than once, aye, are suppressed before our very eyes. You say it keeps the mob in check by a wholesome fear of law and authority? But your law is nothing but a club by which the ruling classes strike down the oppressed masses, and your ethical ideals of equality before the law, of abstract right and justice, exist only in your imagination, but not in fact. And what moral motive is that by which you justify these ethics? Fear and submission to authority! If that keeps the mob in check, does it do so for the individual development of the mob, or does it keep that mob in a cramped position of servility to the ruling class and prevent the full evolution of both rulers and ruled? Do you dare to call that moral?

And where does the mob come from? It is the logical product of the system which you defend in the name of morality. Your ethics are slave ethics, not the ethics of free men. Your moral check degrades masters and slaves alike. Not fear but reason, not faith but knowledge, not authority but brotherhood, these are the pilots of a free ethic. Your ethic cannot endure on such a free basis, it cannot endure when conditions are abolished which lift the masses out of their ignorance and superstition. A free ethic can materialize only in a society which will mark a new era of economic, and at the same time, of cosmic development, a society in which the struggle for existence will gradually come under the conscious control of a truly moral man, who will live his ethics as naturally as he conceives them.

Answer me also, what influence have moral ideas in a few individuals, if they have not the power to become social forces and serve mankind as a whole? The highest moral conviction, the purest life of any single individual, is lost in evolution if it does not vitalize society as a whole just as the best acquired characters of a plant are lost in evolution, if the environment prevents their transmission. If any individual example could have lifted mankind to high ideals, it would have been such a personal example as that which Jesus is supposed to have set. History shows that he has not saved humanity from the domination of material class interests. Neither will any other individual sacrifice ever become socially vital, so long as the whole social environment makes it necessary in the struggle for existence to follow the law of the tooth and the claw.

To hold up to view ethical motives without trying to create the environment of which these motives may be the logical outcome, in which they would be practiced in response to material considerations of life, is just like asking a man to fly without giving him wings and corresponding muscles, or furnishing him with a flying machine. We can no more rise individually above our environment than we can fly without wings or without flying machines. We may jump a few feet into the air, or hang on to a rope, or stand on a platform above the crowd, but the moment these supports are withdrawn we fall back to the level of all the others. And so it is with individual ethics. You must either give us an individual ethic which will be at the same time class ethic and so powerful as to change the whole nature of the ruling class, or you must abolish ruling classes by taking advantage of evolutionary tendencies, and then you can have ethics which will be the living expression of the century old golden rule. But don't expect to obtain by ethical preaching from the working class that which the ruling classes who alone have had the economic and political power to follow your ethics have never yet been able to do. Kindly remember that ethics cannot be individual without being at the same time social, and that you cannot have an individual ethic which contradicts and annuls social ethics. Robinson Crusoe has no use for the golden rule. On the other hand, if ruling classes are not moved in their historical actions by abstract ethical ideas, but by material class interests, then cease to preach to the oppressed classes an abstract ethic which the ruling classes themselves never apply, either in their intercourse among themselves or with other classes.

These statements do not imply that vast masses of men have not been swayed by ideal motives. They do imply, however, that if men were so swayed in great historical movements, they always served either a rising class or a ruling class in the conquest or maintenance of the political and economic powers, and that ethical ideals were permitted to survive and spread only to the extent that they served such purposes. But such ideals were never permitted by any ruling class to quietly survive and spread, if that meant danger to the existing order. If the rulers did not succeed in suppressing them, it was because the economic evolution undermined the foundations of the ruling class and thus shifted the balance of power in favor of the rising classes, giving them a means of transmitting their ethics to coming generations. But it is a fact that the very ideals which once served a rising class in its revolution against the formerly ruling class, have been, and are today, denied and violated, if they become useful in the struggle of a new rising class. The suppression of the Declaration of Independence in the Philippines and Porto

Rico, the suppression of all constitutional rights for the union workers in Colorado, are cases in point.

The only consistent ethics of the present time are those of the revolutionary proletariat. These ethics maintain that freedom, equality, brotherhood, morality, can have no life so long as they remain mere abstractions. But they do remain abstractions, so long as a ruling class exists. For the freedom of the ruling class spells oppression for the ruled class, the ethics of the ruling class are not practiced in the social life and serve their purpose only so long as they keep the oppressed class in its place.

But the ethics of historical materialism teach freedom, not submission. They do not teach self-denial, but self-control. They demand and strive for every opportunity that will develop all the qualities essential to a full life. The old ethics say: "Resist not evil." The new ethics cry out: "Resist every element in your environment which is an obstacle or a danger to your fullest development." The old ethics try to reconcile warring classes on the basis of unethical property relations, they are reactionary. The new ethics are revolutionary and teach that only by the evolution of the individualist system of production into a collective system of production can we arrive at ethics, which will be a theory and practice of life for every human being, and which will be in harmony with the evolutionary ethics of the whole universe.

If ethics are to become a vital force in human society and in the social progress of today, they must be in line with the evolution of the revolutionary proletariat. They must condemn the capitalist system, prove its economic doom, work for the abolition of wage slavery, and scatter the seeds of the full socialist philosophy, which demands, with the abolition of ruling classes, the inauguration of a society, in which there shall be only one class, the working class, in a social environment from which equality, fraternity and freedom rise as do flowers from a fertile soil.

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

The Socialist Party and the Trade Unions (A Reply).

OUR good comrade, Robert Rives LaMonte, in his article on "Socialism and the Trade Unions" in your July number, seems to me utterly to misapply (I had almost said, "to abandon") our materialistic conception of history. The trade union is a *fact*. It is a *living* fact. It is a fact *arising out of the conflict of class interests*. If we should try to ignore it, or to treat it as a negligible factor in social evolution, or as a factor essentially separable from the Socialist movement—so much the worse would it be for us.

The argument that what trade unions gain they gain "at the expense of others" seems to me to involve exactly the same fallacy that was fatal to the theory of the Civic Federation (so far as that was a genuine theory and not a confidence game)—the error of supposing that there is such a thing as a "disinterested public." On this point, I would refer readers to Mr. Ernest Poole's excellent article, "The Disappearing Public."—"The World To-day" for July.

But even if it were to be granted that trade-union methods can make no real *net* gain for the mass of the workers, or that they cannot expect to continue doing so in face of injunctions and the Taff Vale damage suits and Ludwig decisions and Colorado precedents—even if, for the sake of argument, this were admitted, the great fact still remains that the trade unions bring workmen together on a basis of class interest and *train them to feel and think and act together as wage workers*.

It is no accident that at least three-quarters of the active men—speakers, writers, organizers, secretaries, whether in national, state, or local fields—in the Socialist Party are men who either are or have been in the trade unions. It is no accident, either, that our speakers and writers get the best attention and our organizers have the best success in places where there is a vigorous trade union movement. Go to a region or to a trade where there is no union and, nine times out of ten, you find a body of workingmen who are stolidly unresponsive to Socialist propaganda. Talk theory of surplus-value and economic determinism to them with all your might, they will set you down as some new sort of freak or of fakir, along with the Salvationists and the Holiness men and the patent-medicine peddlers. Why? Because, being utterly *untrained in the practice of solidarity*, they are incapable of collective thinking or of grasping a collectivist ideal.

"Unionism is simply one product of a moribund system, capitalism." Well, is not Socialism a product of that same moribund

system? If there were no capitalism should we have an INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW? I suppose not. Just because unionism is a product of capitalism—a reaction of proletarian thought and feeling against capitalist oppression—therefore it is presumptively, I hold, a movement to be viewed with respect and sympathy by Socialists.

Mr. Gompers and Mr. Mitchell hold with Prof. Clark (whom Comrade LaMonte approvingly quotes), that “unionism is in principle opposed to Socialism.” Senator Hanna used to express the same view. Hanna believed with Talleyrand that the function of language is to conceal thought. His whole labor policy was a policy comparable with that of old Louis XV., who said. “The rickety old machine will last out my time.” Mr. Parry and his associates, whose policy is rapidly superseding that of Hanna, are bolder and franker. They recognize in trade unionism and Socialism but two phases, two aspects, two manifestations of one foe to capitalism—the growing self-consciousness of the wage-working class—a class consciousness nowhere perfect, not even in the Socialist Party, but everywhere becoming clearer and more intense.

“It was unsafe,” says Comrade LaMonte, “to make any party declaration upon trade unionism to stand for four years,” because, forsooth, the employers may kill the unions before 1908—or may convert them! Not to say it offensively, this seems to me the rankest ideology if it is not the weakest opportunism.

If the unions are in danger of being killed, and if it is advised that *therefore* we should have withdrawn from our fraternal relations with them—that is a degree of timidity which, once he realizes its meaning, LaMonte would never stand for. So our party may be in danger of its life work. With open and direct disfranchisement in one region, indirect disfranchisement by means of residence qualifications in others, deportation and censorship of the press in another, coalitions between the old parties to count us out where we cannot be voted down in others—with the half-veiled threats of blood-and-iron suppression (and power behind those threats greater than ever Bismarck had)—is it not conceivable that within four years our peaceful political movement, *as such*, might be utterly crushed out? And should we therefore fear to make a party declaration for the continuance of political action while opportunity still exists? And would we not think it basest cowardice in the United Brewery Workers or the Western Federation of Miners or the Brotherhood of Railway Employees or the *Arbeiter Kranken* and *Sterbe Kasse* to withdraw their expression of friendship for the Socialist Party, lest the party be crushed and they suffer in its fall?

No, we are not going to run away. If the unions are killed (which I do not at all expect), they will be killed in spite of

our loyal support, and their members will join with us in political or whatever other action may in that crisis be necessary.

On the other hand, it is suggested that the capitalists may convert the unions into "the first line of defense of capitalism against socialism." That suggestion is pure ideology. The unions were not created by leaders. They are the product of proletarian discontent and of incipient proletarian instinct and reason. They have arisen out of the fact of the class struggle. While that fact persists, neither subsidized labor leaders nor shrewd capitalist schemers can turn their course of evolution backward or even stop their progress or do more than somewhat hamper and delay it. That "buffer" game has been tried. The Civic Federation scheme—directed by a statesman of truly Machiavellian skill, administered by well trained and well paid labor misleaders and bishops and editors, and provided with ample funds besides—what has been its chief effect? To call attention to the fact of the class struggle and rouse the spirit of the workers for more determined and intelligent resistance. Again, Parry and others have tried the plan of organizing rival unions, just as certain leaders have done in Germany. Here, as there, these "buffer" unions themselves have gradually developed into true fighting unions turned against their creators and joined in the general labor movement.

The capitalists may bribe or cajole a good many trade union leaders. For all we know, they may succeed in bribing or cajoling a good many leaders of our party or sending their agents among us to do their work. But we need not be alarmed. They cannot buy or cajole the rank and file of our party—and that is what counts. Does anyone suppose—to put it to no other test but that of expense—that the capitalists could (or would) afford to buy out three million unionists to fight Socialism? If they could, if they should, the men would not stay bought.

But I trespass on your space and my own leisure. In closing let me only say this: When five years' experience of a certain policy has shown such all but uniformly good results as we have seen since our repudiation of the S. T. & L. A. in 1899, a proposition to abandon that policy may be put aside as "academic"—except in so far as it comes from certain non-proletarian and even possibly reactionary elements (I speak not here of Comrade La Monte) in our party, with which we may yet have to deal.

ALGERNON LEE.

Industrial Concentration in the United States.

THE two decades prior to the Civil War formed a time of industrial revolution in the United States analogous to that which took place in England between 1760 and 1820. It was the time of the change from domestic to factory industry. The 12th Census of the United States, Vol. VIII, part LX, describes this period as follows: "This (the factory) system obtained its first foothold in the United States during the period of embargo and the war of 1812. The manufacture of cotton and wool passed rapidly from the household to the mill, but the methods of domestic and neighborhood industry continued to and including the decade between 1820 and 1830, and it was not until about 1870 that the factory method of manufacture extended itself widely to miscellaneous industries and began rapidly to force from the market the hand-made products with which every community had hitherto chiefly supplied itself. It seems probable that until about the year 1850, the bulk of general manufacturing done in the United States was carried on in the shop and the household by the labor of the family or individual proprietors, with apprentice assistants, as contrasted with the present system of factory labor compensated by wages and assisted by power."⁽¹⁾

Levasseur tells us in his book on "The American Workman" that "in 1820 a Massachusetts cloth mill, the largest in the United States at the time possessed a mechanical equipment of four carding engines, one picker, three jennys, five hundred and sixteen spindles, one roper, six broadcloth looms and two cassimere looms. The company employed 46 men, 23 women and 23 children."

It was during this period that various industries were being

(1) "Prior to 1816 most of the shoes were hand-sewed, a few having been copper-nailed; the heavier were weltsed and the lighter were turned. This method of manufacture was changed about the year 1815 by the adoption of the wooden shoe peg, which was invented in 1811. . . . Up to this time little or no progress had been made in the methods of manufacture. The shoemaker sat on his bench, and with scarcely any other tools than a hammer, knife and wooden shoulder stick, cut, stitched, hammered and sewed until the shoe was completed. Previous to the year 1845, which marked the first successful application of machinery to American shoemaking, this industry was in the strictest sense a hand power.

"The change from which has been evolved our present factory system began in the latter part of 1700, when a system of sizes had been drafted, and shoemakers more enterprising than their fellows gathered about them groups of workmen and took upon themselves the dignity of manufacturers. . . . The first machine which proved itself of any practical value was the leather rolling machine, which came into use about 1845. . . . This was followed slowly by the wax thread sewing machine . . . and the buffing machine. . . . Then came a machine which made pegs cheaply and with great rapidity, and this in turn was followed by a hand power machine for driving pegs. In 1855 there was introduced the splitting machine for reducing sole leather to a uniform thickness. . . . The year 1860 saw the introduction of the McKay sewing machine, which has perhaps done more to revolutionize the manufacture of shoes than any other single machine."—Census 1900, Vol. IX, Part III, p. 46.

differentiated from agriculture. This was the case, for instance, with canning and preserving.

Manufacturing establishments were still small in 1850, the average capitalization of all manufacturing industries being but \$4,334. In 1860 this had increased to \$7,191.

It was in the great fundamental industry of iron making that most important changes were taking place. We find that "It was not until after 1850 that the use of bituminous coal began to exert an appreciable influence upon the manufacture of pig iron. In 1849 there was not one coke furnace in blast in Pennsylvania . . . In 1856 there were 21 furnaces in Pennsylvania and three in Maryland which were using coke or were adapted to its use, and their total production in that year was 44,481 gross tons of pig iron. After 1856 the use of this fuel in the blast furnaces increased in Pennsylvania and was extended to other states, but it was not until after 1865 that its use for this purpose increased rapidly."⁽²⁾

The growth of the iron industry arose largely from the demand for this material in the construction of railroads.

It was during the period from 1850 to 1860 that America underwent its first railroad boom, which, although it attracted much attention at the time, was but a mild forerunner of those that were to come in later years. In 1850 there were only 9,021 miles of railroad in the United States, but there were 21,605 miles constructed during the next ten years. By far the larger portion of this was constructed in the Northern and Western States.⁽³⁾

This was a time when barter was giving place to money economy in large portions of the country. It was a period of rapid expansion of the currency. This was also largely brought about by the increase in the amount of gold mined, the most of this coming of course from the California gold fields opened in 1848. There were \$1,675,483 worth of gold coined in 1840 and this was the largest amount that had been coined in any one year up to that time. But in 1850 the annual coinage reached \$31,981,739.

Industrial progress rests largely on the inventions and improvements that are made in machinery, and the number of patents issued during any period is a fairly good measure of the rate of industrial development. In 1850 there were only 6,987

(2) "The art of smelting iron ores to obtain iron may be divided into three stages in the United States, on the basis of the kinds of fuel employed in the process. Down to 1840 the fuel in prevailing use was charcoal. . . . The time from 1840 to 1850, or even a little later, was something of a transition period. The experimental results of years were by that time embodied in methods of production to such an extent as to mark the beginning of the second or anthracite era in iron making on this continent. . . . Anthracite coal first exceeded charcoal in the amount of tons of pig iron produced in 1855. Twenty years later, in 1875, bituminous coal and coke show a larger production."—Swank's "Iron in All Ages," p. 370.

(3) Statistical Abstract United States for 1900, p. 374.

patents in force in the United States. But between this time and 1860, 19,661 new patents were issued, and the decade closed with 22,435 in force.⁽⁴⁾

During this period of growing industry the small capitalist class was naturally extremely prosperous. But soon the limited market of this time was filled and the downward movement began.

In 1857 this burst of prosperity ended in a crisis which continued during the next two years: "The year 1859 came upon the people of the United States and found them suffering and in distress. Beggars and tramps began to ask for bread. In every large city and town numbers of people were without employment. Warehouses filled to overflowing, everything cheap and little or nothing buy with. Bankruptcy stood at the nation's gate. The panic of 1857 had reduced many to beggary."⁽⁵⁾

This depression lasted for a little over two years, signs of recovery had just begun to appear when the Civil War broke out. Yet at this time the capitalists of the North had already reached a comparatively high stage of development. "According to Mulhall the United States held in 1860 the fourth rank among manufacturing nations, being surpassed by Great Britain, France and Germany."⁽⁶⁾

Manufacturing establishments had therefore reached considerable size prior to the outbreak of the Civil War. The census of 1900 states that "the organization of great corporations in iron and steel, in foundry products of every variety, in leather and in other industries dates from the decade ending with 1860, or even earlier."

THE CIVIL WAR.

The Civil War affected industrial development profoundly in a multitude of directions. In the first place the large contracts given by the Government for uniform articles tended to build up great industries. Albert S. Bolles in his "Financial History of the United States" estimates that the total expenditure growing out of the war was \$6,189,929,908.58; of this \$381,417,540 were for the sustenance of the army, and \$345,543,880 for clothing for the army."⁽⁷⁾

Taking textile industries, for example, we find that the total capital employed in these industries increased from \$144,362,181 in 1860 to \$279,319,740 in 1870 ⁽⁸⁾. But it is when the special branches of this industry are studied by years that the effect of the war contracts become most evident.

The following table taken from the "Statistical Abstract of

(4) Census 1900, Vol. X, Part IV, p. 763.

(5) Powderly's "Thirty Years of Labor," p. 29.

(6) Census 1900, Vol. VII, Part I, p. 15.

(7) In Shaler's "United States of America," article by Edward Atkinson, Vol. II, p. 24, the total expenditures on account of the war, including pensions and other expenditures to December 31, 1894, is given as ten billion dollars.

(8) Eleventh Census, page 8, of Volume on Manufactures.

the United States" for 1900 shows the remarkable increase in the consumption of wool for domestic manufacture. It will be noted that the consumption grew steadily and fairly rapidly until 1860 and that it then grew more in the next three years than in the previous twenty and in four years had increased nearly threefold:

1840	45,615,326 pounds.
1850	71,176,355 "
1860	85,334,876 "
1863	180,057,156 "
1864	213,871,157 "

The effect of the war on the woolen industry is stated by Levasseur in "The American Workman," page 26, as follows: "The tariff of 1846 reduced the duty to 36 per cent ad valorem and caused great distress among the manufacturers. In 1857 the rate was again reduced to 24 per cent, but as the duty on wool was also lowered, the industry prospered. During the Civil War the enormous consumption of cloth for uniforms, the scarcity of cotton and the general inflation of prices stimulated both wool-growing and the manufacture of woollens, in which the profits came rather from the quantity than the quality of the product. The census statisticians valued the woolen products at \$73,000,000 in 1860 and at \$217,000,000 (\$173,000,000 in gold) in 1870, an increase of about 115 per cent; they estimate the number of persons employed at 59,522 in 1860, and at 119,859 in 1870; during the decade the consumption of wool more than doubled (from 98,000,000 to 220,000,000 pounds) and nominal wages increased more than threefold (from \$13,000,000 to \$40,000,000)."

Of the manufacture of gloves we learn that "the industry received a decided stimulus during the Civil War, as large quantities of gloves, especially gauntlets, were required for military service. Both gloves and skins shared in the general rise of prices which took place during this period."

Improvements went on rapidly during the Civil War and nowhere was the development greater than in the iron and steel industry. The demand made imperative new and better methods of production. Steel rails were not manufactured in the United States until 1860 and the first Bessemer steel was produced here in 1864.⁽⁹⁾

In the article on the Iron and Steel Industry by Charles Huston in "One Hundred Years of American Commerce," page 325, he says: "During the years 1861-5 the resources of the iron industry in the Northern States were taxed to their utmost to provide the Federal armies with war material and the navy with

(9) Census 1900, Vol. I of "Reports of Manufactures." See also special article of Swank in Census of 1880, Vol. XIII, Part II, p. 126.

guns and projectiles. The industry in the South, strained at an early day beyond its feeble capacity, soon broke down, and most of the requirements of the Confederate armies were supplied from abroad. In the train of dire disaster wrought by the Civil War some good to the iron industry may be found, for not only did iron ships make their appearance in the navy, but the application of iron plates or "armor" to their sides had its inception . . .

"The first plant to produce (Bessemer) steel as a commercial article was put in successful operation by the Pennsylvania Steel Co. at Steelton, near Harrisburg, Pa., June, 1867. The first steel rails ever rolled in the United States upon order in the way of regular business were rolled by the Cambria Iron Co., Johnstown, Pa., August, 1867, from ingots made by the Pennsylvania Steel Company.

"The first open hearth furnace introduced into this country . . . was built in 1868."

The effect of this increased demand toward building up the large manufacturing industry was aided by the high protective tariff which was levied at the beginning of the war and which forced domestic production to meet these demands.⁽¹⁰⁾ In every way then the period of the war was a time of hothouse growth for industry.

At the same time these gigantic Governmental transactions established a system of high finance. It trained a body of men to the handling of millions and the manipulation of stocks, bonds and other securities and to banking operations on a scale hitherto undreamed. At the close of the war the national debt amounted to \$2,773,236,174. In the manipulating of this sum a new race of men had arisen who were to play an important part in the social life of the future. It was as a part of this evolution that our present system of national banks was founded by a law passed June 3, 1864.

Another influence which tended to increase the rate of industrial progress was the abnormal inflation of the currency. In addition to the increased gold supply which continued throughout the Civil War period there was the vastly greater inflation produced by the greenback issues.

The Internal Revenue taxes which were levied at this time also had important industrial effects, as will be shown later. The

(10) "Not until the decade between 1860 and 1870 did it become apparent that the complete supply of staple products for the home market was within the capacity of domestic manufacture. During the Civil War the great demand for manufactured supplies of every description and the high protective duties on imports necessitated by the revenue requirements of the Government stimulated enterprise and production to an extent not known before or since. The value of manufactured products more than doubled in that decade, increasing from \$1,885,861,676 in 1860 to \$3,924,958,660.442 in 1870."—David R. Dewey's "Financial History of the United States, pp. 272-3. (Figures for 1870 corrected for Census 1870, Vol. III, p. 378.)

report of the Industrial Commission, Vol. XIX, page 596, sums up these factors as follows: "Until after the close of the Civil War business in the United States was so much localized on account of the lack of facilities for transportation and the relative smallness of the capital invested, that no large combinations were made. The rapid development of business in the year following the war, together with the artificial stimulus given to certain lines of industry, either by internal revenue legislation, as in the case of the manufacture of spirits, or by the special demand created by the war itself and by the nation following it led to several combinations of a wider reach. The spirits business especially had attracted very large sums of capital and the producing capacity had become far beyond that required to meet the country's normal demand at a reasonable price. The result was cutting of prices in order to dispose of the surplus stock, so that the business often became unprofitable. To avoid this the manufacturers met from time to time and entered into an agreement to limit the annual output to a certain percentage of the producing capacity of the various establishments."

SITUATION AT THE CLOSE OF THE WAR.

It will be at once evident that the close of hostilities between the North and the South, the abolition of chattel slavery and the culmination of the industrial conditions arising from the war constituted at once the close and the beginning of an epoch in industrial history. "The Civil War marks the beginning for the United States at least, of an industrial revolution second only in importance to the industrial revolution in England which preceded it just one hundred years. The earlier revolution has been characterized in its first phase as the triumph of the machine over hand tools in production, the growth of the factory system; the second phase as the triumph of the machine in transportation, the growth of the railway system. The later industrial revolution has been characterized as the triumph of the machine in business organization and management—the corporation; but this fails to take note of other industrial changes of the same epoch which do not fall within that category."⁽¹¹⁾

The Civil War meant the extension of a uniform social and industrial organization throughout the United States. At this time, however, this was only a possibility. The first step toward its accomplishment was necessarily the binding together of every portion of the country through better means of communication. "The Civil War closed the first great period of United States history. Its result secured the continuance of political union and the equal status of all its inhabitants. The extension of the rail-

(11) Jacob E. Conner, "Industrial Causes Affecting American Commercial Policy Since the Civil War" in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, p. 44.

way system within the next two decades brought closer the day of economic union which alone makes a country a State by adding to the legal freedom of trade the practical possibility."⁽¹²⁾ Hence it is that this period has come to be known in American history as the one of most rapid extension of railway systems. Never, in any equal period of years since then, has construction gone on with as great rapidity. "Within eight years after Lee's surrender the railway mileage of the United States was literally doubled. Only a fraction of this increase belonged to the Trans-continental lines which linked the two oceans in 1869. Quite aside from the 1,800 miles of Pacific railways, upwards of 30,000 miles of track were laid in the United States between 1865 and 1873. Four noteworthy economic developments accompanied this extension of the transportation system. A fertile interior domain, hitherto untouched, was opened up to industry. With the rush of population to these Western districts, not only did the disbanded army resume production without industrial overcrowding such as followed to Napoleonic wars, but provision was made for three or four hundred thousand immigrants annually. European capital in enormous volume was drawn upon to provide the means for this development. Finally the United States rose from the position of a second or third-class commercial state to the first rank among agricultural producers and exporters."⁽¹³⁾

Since the National Government was for the first time completely in the control of the capitalist class, the power of the South being completely broken, there was nothing to prevent the National Government being used to further the interests of a new industrial master.⁽¹⁴⁾

This showed itself first in the land grant system for the encouragement of railway construction. Some efforts had been made in this direction prior to the Civil War, the first law granting land to a railroad being that in the interest of the Illinois Central, which was passed in 1850, but which did not go into operation until 1851.

The following table shows the total number of acres given over to railroads during the period from 1850 to 1872: ⁽¹⁵⁾

(12) Von Halle, "Trusts," p. 9.

(13) Alexander Dana Noyes, "Thirty Years of American Finance," pp. 2-3.

(14) "During the years from 1853 to 1860 the political condition of the country made it impossible to induce capital to undertake the building of a railroad across 2,000 miles of desert. The agitation of the slavery question occupied the attention of Congress to the exclusion of everything else, and out of the sectional jealousies engendered by that controversy arose differences as to the route to be adopted. The South wanted a southern route, the North a northern one, and there seemed to be no way of reaching a compromise. The South was then in control of the Government and could prevent the location of the line at the North, while northern and eastern capital could not be enlisted for a southern route endorsed by Jefferson Davis, who was the Secretary of War. The political tide turned, however, in 1860 and politics which had so retarded the work now helped to push the road forward."—Warman, "The Story of the Railroad," p. 23.

(15) Donaldson, "Public Domain," pp. 262 et seq.

INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION IN THE UNITED STATES 83

	Acres pat'd or cert'd.	Complete grant.
1850.....	3,751,711.73	3,751,711.73
1852.....	1,764,710.85	1,764,711
1853.....	1,856,461.27	2,682,171.50
1856.....	12,505,959.13	14,559,729.79
1857.....	2,380,437.34	5,118,450
1862.....	5,096,418.53	23,504,001.61
1863.....	6,213,899.50	46,848,600
1865.....	2,465,016.58	128,000
1866.....	4,970,295.87	34,001,297.77
1869.....	49.811
1870.....	1,000,000
1871.....	875,785.40	17,903,218
1872.....	327,903.69	327,903.69
Total	45,647,347.40	155,504,994.59

Some idea can be gained of the extent of these land grants if we compare them with the area of some well known States. The total land grants amounted to 242,976 square miles. It will be seen from the following table that this was greater than the combined area of seven of the most important States in the Union:

Areas of various states:	
Illinois	56,650
Pennsylvania	45,215
New York	49,170
Ohio	41,060
Indiana	36,350
Massachusetts	8,315
Connecticut	4,990
	<hr/> 241,650

The primary effect of a railroad or any system of improved transportation is to enlarge the circle within which goods may be profitably marketed. "It is well known that upon the ordinary highways the economical limit to transportation is confined within a comparatively few miles, depending of course upon the *kind* of freight and character of the roads. Upon the average of such ways the cost of transportation is not far from 15 cents per ton mile . . . Estimating at the same time the value of wheat at \$1 a bushel and corn at 75 cents, and that 33 bushels of each are equal to a ton, the value of the former would be equal to its cost of transportation for 330 miles, and the latter 165 miles. At these respective distances from market neither of the above articles would have any commercial value, with only a common earth road to market.

"But we find that we can move property upon railroads at the rate of 1.5 cent per ton mile. . . . These works, therefore, extend the economic limit of the cost of transportation of the above articles to 3,300 and 1,650 miles respectively. At the limit of the economical movement of these articles upon the *common* highway by the use of railroads wheat would be worth \$44.50 and corn \$22.27 per ton, which sums respectively would represent the actual increase in value created by the interposition of such a work."(¹⁰)

(10) Ringwalt. "Transportation System in the United States," p. 129.

Industry can only grow to the size necessary to supply the product which can be profitably marketed. But the limits of the market are fixed by the transportation facilities. The railroad by multiplying the radius of the circle increased the market many fold. The disproportionate importance of the extension of the limit of profitable transportation a few miles at the periphery of the circle is understood if we remember the geometrical proposition that the area of circles varies as the square of their diameters. That is to say, if an industry which had previously been able to ship its goods only 50 miles from the factory suddenly had transportation facilities improved so that it could deliver its goods 200 miles distant and still make a profit, the result would be that the market would be to the previous one, not as 200 is to 50, but as 160,000 is to 10,000, that is to say the factory may now increase its profitable productive capacity sixteenfold.

This change was accompanied by another of equal importance. This was the period when the great productive power of the modern machine was beginning to make itself felt. The Civil War had demonstrated that a very small portion of the country could produce more than even the tremendous forces of war could waste. Now for a few years these same marvelous productive forces were to be turned to the production of profits.

So great was this productive power that it was able to pay dividends not alone upon the capital which had accumulated in America, but it was able to take enormous sums from European capitalists, saved from the surplus value of the workers across the sea, and return dividends to its owners. Says David A. Wells in an article on "The Elements of National Wealth" which appeared in Vol. V of the *International Review*, page 167:

"The amount of subscriptions made in London for a series of years prior to 1874, to American loans—other than Federal—appears, from the examination of a large amount of data, to have averaged about \$90,000,000 per annum, loans taken on the Continent conjointly with London being included. The amount of investments in American securities taken by or through Holland, mainly in the five years prior to 1875, has been estimated by the best authorities in Amsterdam as about \$125,000,000, of which 64 per cent in 1876 had defaulted in their interest.

"The opinion of the writer, after a very careful examination of the subject, is that from 1866 to 1875 the amount of European capital drawn to the United States for loan or investment, exclusive of all Federal transactions, has averaged about \$100,000,000 per annum."

The general features of the period embracing the Civil War may be summed up somewhat as follows: It was a time during which the factory system was introduced into a great mass of industries. This was especially true in textiles and in the manufac-

ture of agricultural implements. The time of the Civil War especially stimulated ingenuity in agricultural implements. A large portion of the work on the Northern farms had to be done by women and children. They could not do it with the crude tools hitherto in use; the consequence was a largely increased demand for improved machinery which led to invention or perfection of many of the most prominent agricultural implements of today.

The great industry was only possible in the lines of transportation and communication and iron and steel. Railroads were in the first stage of consolidation in which short lines were being grouped together into systems. These systems were still largely competitive. The great demand for iron and steel through the war and subsequently for railroad construction had caused rapid growth in that industry. It is worthy of note that Andrew Carnegie entered the steel industry in 1863. It is thus evident that this was a time of the beginning of the process of crystallization. Concentration was beginning with those basic industries which within a few years were to be known as natural monopolies but which at this time were still in the competitive stage.

(To be continued.)

MAY WOOD SIMONS.
A. M. SIMONS.

[It is not expected that these articles will appear every month. Too much work is required upon each one, even with the matter already in hand, to make this possible. However, it is hoped that the next installment will be ready for the October number and that the series will be completed during the coming winter.]

The Other Side.

EVER since the industrial organizations of the West took their stand, unprecedented and revolutionary in the history of American labor, upon a declaration of Socialist principles, paradoxical as it may seem, they have had to endure a running fire of protest and criticism from both press and prominent spokesmen of the Socialist party. This is especially noticeable from leading Socialists in the domain of the American Federation of Labor, and even the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW has approached the subject with a cautious pen.

The recent article from A. W. Ricker in the *Appeal to Reason*, after he had been to Colorado to make a special investigation of strike conditions, in which he reported against the advisability of unions declaring for independent political action on a Socialist basis, gave definite expression to what has seemed to be an undefined tendency. And now that the Ways and Means Committee, appointed at the convention of the Colorado State Federation of Labor, right in the heart of the western Socialist unions, as it were, have declared with but two dissenting votes to support the democratic ticket in Colorado next fall; the issue seems to justify the assertions that the Socialist declarations of the A. L. U. and the W. F. M. at their conventions were not the convictions of a class-conscious body of workingmen, determined to make their exploitation final by massing their votes against the system which exploits them, but only a wave of aggressive enthusiasm without anchor, knowledge, or purpose.

It may be stated that the Ways and Means Committee of the State Federation was clothed with absolute power to direct the political action of the unions which it represented. The outrages committed against the strikers under the sanction of the republican anarchist, Peabody, in the executive chair had imbued organized labor with a blind and revengeful determination to "down Peabodyism." Three courses were open to the Ways and Means Committee, the democratic party, an independent labor party, or the Socialist party. The working men saw from similar experiences in other states that an independent party would poll but a weak vote. The Socialist party is like a red flag to the capitalists large and small, the farmer class who will have the military bills to pay, and organized labor. So the committee allies itself with the democratic party with but two dissenting votes. Those votes were of informed and steadfast members of the Socialist party.

In view of the above mentioned circumstances I have thought that a statement should be offered presenting the other side of

the question, and the underlying principles in the evolution of the proletariat, if such there be any, as manifested by this departure of the western trade organizations.

The organizations declaring for Socialism as their basic principle are the American Labor Union, the Western Federation of Miners, the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, and their affiliated organizations.

Had their membership reflected the declarations of their conventions the augmented Socialist vote must have struck dismay into the hearts of the business and employing class. Such a result, however, did not follow the action of the conventions except at isolated points as Anaconda, Montana, and Telluride, Silverton, and Gunnison, Colorado, where republicans and democrats combined against the Socialists at the city elections.

The leading officials of these unions are declared Socialists, and in Denver most of them are members of the local. They never attend, however, the business meetings, rarely the public meetings, and indeed show very little interest in the actual conduct of the movement. Where then is the value and the purpose of the endorsement?

There are those who say that the unionists would have carried their avowed Socialist policy to the ballot box had it not been for misguided members of the Socialist party, a class with which we are all familiar, many of them graduates from the ill-fated Socialist labor party, who have called the union leaders "fakirs," berated and maligned them in the midst of their strike difficulties, and given all the external evidences of being employed as disrupters by the capitalist class even if they were not. The well-informed Socialist, however, knows that masses of working men understanding their mission and their destiny, to define and bring to its culmination the class struggle, would not be swerved from so magnificent a consummation by such superficial and transient causes.

The endorsement at the conventions was unquestionably the work of the delegates, swayed by Debs and other Socialist speakers who were present. That they did not represent the subordinate organizations was evidenced by the fact that they refused to let the endorsement go to the vote of the referendum. In justification of this they stated that they meant to follow the endorsement with education, and soon the rank and file would understand the position as well as the delegates. This program was to a certain extent followed out by speakers and literature. The limited time and limited resources have at the best though produced a consequent limited knowledge of the Socialist position among the working class, such as there might have been in Germany after the first few years of instruction in the newly found conclusions of Marx and Engels.

They have a certain sort of class consciousness, such as arises from the organization into crafts for mutual protection, a feeling of solidarity of interest so far as the trade or allied trade goes; but this does not extend to unorganized or unclassified labor. There is also a feeling that the ownership of the industries by the workers would stop their trouble. But this is vague and has not sufficient substance to insure its being reiterated at the ballot box in the face of every difficulty.

The trouble confronting the Colorado workers is a real and tangible menace to their freedom and their welfare. An unemployed class cannot subsist in these wild mountains where the towns are half a day's journey apart by rail. Consequently a strike is fraught with direful results to employers who cannot readily obtain sufficient experienced strike breakers. And the only way to lower wages and subdue the workers was by such unlawful means, such violation of all constitutional rights, such a hiring out of all the powers of state government to the mine owners, such brutality, mob law, and open crime as has characterized the administration of James Peabody. Every individual in the state is lined up on one side or the other, and the Citizens' Alliances have been the chief executors of the greatest outrages.

The purpose is to crush and dissipate the unions, and the persecution has been intensified against them because of the bitter hatred of their socialist tendencies. At points where socialism was the strongest the outrages have been the greatest. This was the case with Telluride. At the last general election there the socialists polled twenty-six per cent of the vote and the capitalists were thrown into a panic of terror thereby. Our national committeeman, A. H. Floaten, whose home was broken into, who was seized by an armed mob composed of the superintendents of the mines, lawyers, church deacons, saloonkeepers, gamblers, with no pretense of either civil or military authority, was dragged through ice water in his stocking feet, his head beaten and bruised by the pistols of the thugs, and who was put on a train and deported from his home and warned never to return, is a merchant, at the head of the largest department store in that part of the country, and could not belong to the miners' union. He had always been a highly respected citizen. His only offense was that he was a prominent socialist. The union men noted as active socialists have been the particular victims of the union of the "business" people. Only about fifty socialist voters have been left in the Telluride district. The same thing has happened at Idaho Springs, where the first deportation was made. At Anaconda, Mont., where there were such heavy socialist majorities, the men have been dismissed till we can expect but a light vote. The sum and substance of the matter is, if the unions are crushed in this battle the Socialist Party will be crippled, threatened, and

endangered in every way. Our meetings will be broken up and harassed, street meetings completely forbidden, agitators and speakers imprisoned and deported, and Pinkertons shadow every active adherent of the cause. In fact we virtually confront those conditions right now. As we came out of our hall in Denver the other evening we found our meeting watched by a police spy, and our recent bolt and disruption in the Cripple Creek district gives every evidence of being the work of emissaries of the mine owners.

There has been one force behind the declarations of the conventions for socialism that cannot be considered a light or transient one, and that is the personal influence of Edward Boyce. He it was who never stopped his urging till the socialist declaration had been made. He it is who stands like a giant pine urging his fellows to action for their total class emancipation. He has more influence than any man in the Western Federation because of his loyalty, his modesty and his stalwart stand for his convictions, and this influence is a living lesson in socialism to his fellows.

But the point of prime importance furnished by the socialist declaration is the opportunity for agitation and education within the unions in regard to their own class interests along economic and political lines. The union no longer scares at the "bogy man" of "no politics in the union." The socialist speakers are welcome in any union, and are received with acclamations. And if all are not converted at once even a republican or democratic workingman cannot hear the socialist solution of his difficulties over and over again without getting some inkling of the only way out. Besides the "Western Clarion," organ of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, the "American Labor Union Journal," and the "Miners' Magazine," organ of the W. F. M., are all socialist publications, and teach first class economic doctrine. One cannot overestimate the influence of these sheets going into the homes as a means of propaganda.

Whenever and however the coöperative industry may become established, by capitalist collapse, by toilers goaded through madness to precipitate revolution, by reasonable and peaceful manipulation of the franchise, all are agreed that the workers themselves must be consciously the means of the reconstruction of society in their own interest. To do that the better they understand that interest, the more clearly they comprehend their historic program, and the only and inevitable solution of the capitalistic chaos that grinds them between its millstones, the sooner will they move in a coherent mass towards a direct and rational goal.

Union labor represents the more intelligent and efficient part of labor. So long as these do not sustain the socialist program, so long as they do not even know what it is we are a long way

from any scientific arrangement of our productive forces. But when we have access to that part of labor that has sufficient courage and intelligence to organize in its own behalf we have the best possible basis for instruction in regard to political advantage. And it appears the height of folly because men have taken one step forward in their own interest to condemn them for the steps they have not yet taken.

Another advantage arising from a labor convention declaring for socialism is that all over the country, among the subordinates of that convention and other bodies of the working class, an interest is aroused in the subject, and they will study and inform themselves, whereas, before they looked upon it with fear and distrust. And wherever the press goes and the word is carried that certain unions have endorsed socialism, large masses of people are awakened to independent investigation. The bourgeois hear and tremble and go into Parry hysterics, and these class lines are more clearly defined, and the approaching catastrophe nears its culmination.

I think it is a grave mistake for the Socialist Party or any members of it to malign and discourage movements of the working class because they do not move *en masse* as socialists wish they would. The workingmen are a long way from understanding their true position. If they did they would put an end to it instantly, socialism would be here, and exploitation ended. The mistakes they are making to-day are not the only ones they will make before they come into the coöperative commonwealth. And if we meet them with caustic abuse instead of friendly advice we are not apt to inspire friendliness towards our recommendations. We cannot place ourselves on a pinnacle because we think we understand the science of economics, and call ourselves philosophers, and arrogate to ourselves the path of the proletariat. The proletariat are walking in their path, a tortuous one to be sure, but there they abide. And they move along the line of their immediate economic interests, and they will make the revolution from the force of that interest and its inherent necessity.

Another danger to the proletarian nature of the Socialist Party, to my mind, is a too close distinction between the economic and political phases of the movement. To assert as a fundamental premise that the unions have to deal solely with the economic phase of the proletarian movement and the Socialist Party with the political phase seems to me to be an unwarranted wandering into the region of abstract theorizing. The American Socialist Party withdrew from its progenitor, the Socialist Labor Party, exactly on the ground that there should be politics in the union, and favoring independent political action by the unions. The western unions pre-eminently stand for this policy as opposed to the "no politics in the union" of the American Federation

of Labor. It is impossible for the laboring classes to achieve freedom except through political action. To understand where their political interests lie they must be guided by the outcome of their economic struggles, and this discussion and conscious development of their position must necessarily take place in their unions, where they are organized for aggressive resistance to the capitalist system which exploits them. And for the political phase to sever itself from all sympathy and fellowship with this struggling economic phase seems to me the most absurd of all contradictions, and calculated to breed distrust and repudiation among the working class.

Whatever forces may be at work undermining the tottering fabrics of our present civilization, the student of economic history, and there is no other kind, knows that the will and intelligence of the human must be concentrated with tremendous dynamic power upon the readjustment of the material resources of man before he may even dare to breathe the thought of the possible absolute freedom of his living. David Starr Jordan at one time said to his classes: "We have reached the point where mankind consciously affects the evolutionary process." The more he knows the more intelligently he can affect that process.

The unions are the kindergartens of the proletarian movement that has never been born, that is to be. And the more of them that see their path and the faster they declare that it is where the socialist philosophy points the way the sooner will they cement that knowledge by intelligent political action.

IDA CROUCH-HAZLETT.

About Tactics.

AS I see it, the conception of a contradictory proposition between Socialism and Opportunism is both false and mischievous. The conception of revolutionary socialism is distinct and clear; that of opportunism is ambiguous; and it is from this ambiguity that the nature of the contradiction arises.

There is no difficulty in making the distinction between principle and policy, between the end aimed at and the way to reach the end. This is the distinction between socialism and bona fide opportunism. Of course, there is a field here for hypocrisy and dishonesty. But this is only saying that there are traitors and imbeciles in all camps.

The difference between the mere reformer and the socialist would seem to be apparent to the meanest intellect. The reformer is usually the friend of capitalism and would prune away the decaying branches to relieve the tree and prolong its life and fruitfulness. The socialist opportunist, on the other hand, would cut off the limbs to kill the tree; because these are within his reach, while the root is not. The immediate result of opportunism, if successful, is a temporary and local betterment of some condition of the proletariat. The result of the capitalistic reformer is the same. Judged by immediate results only, there is no difference between the two. Neither the one nor the other has touched the source of the evil. This equality of immediate results or immediate aims is what makes not a few good socialists place the same estimate on both, and regard both alike as working on the same low plane of mere reform. The ambiguity consists in the fact that specific reform may be conceived either as an end in itself or as a means towards effecting the realization of the social ideal.

There are no better socialists than the Belgian comrades, and they are laying out all their strength and energy in the immediate demand for universal and equal suffrage; not, indeed, to rest contented when they shall have achieved it, but to use it as an arm for future conquests. In spite of the suffrage which we possess in this country, we have been robbed of the most sacred constitutional rights. Judicial usurpation creates crime and deprives the citizen of his liberty without a trial. In very many towns and cities the right of socialists to assemble and speak on unfrequented streets and vacant lots is prohibited by the police, while every salvation army spy and tool is allowed the use of the most crowded

thoroughfares. Nor is the right of suffrage safe. The disfranchisement of the negroes in the South on the pretext of a fear of black domination, is but the entering wedge for the wholesale disfranchisement of the proletariat. Northern politicians not only acquiesce, but tacitly approve the course of their southern confederates.

Shall we say that these violations of constitutional rights, being only outgrowths and consequences of the capitalistic system, are not worthy of our strenuous and united resistance and that we should reserve our efforts for the conflict with the system itself, which is the source of these wrongs? This would be sheer madness. Were such a maxim put in practice capital would not long delay to bind us hand and foot and render us incapable of doing it any harm. The saying that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church" must be taken with a large allowance of salt. History shows that in far the greater number of cases the "church" has been quenched in the blood of the martyrs.

This brings up the question of co-operation with other organizations. To my mind the principle of action seems clear and simple, though in some instances, as in the case of all principles, there may be a doubt of its application. If there were a death dealing pool of water in a neighborhood and a call were made on the neighbors to drain it, I think the socialist would shoulder his pick and shovel and go with the rest without stopping to ask who were Catholics or Protestants, Democrats or Republicans. This instance precisely illustrates what we should do in co-operation at the ballot box.

Socialism is a scientific system. It is founded on the observation of all the psychological and historical facts of sociology, and its doctrines are the laws deduced therefrom. It has no place for the imagination; it trusts nothing to hope; it attaches no importance to fortunate accidents.

One of these facts is that we are living under the capitalistic system. We may change the environment, and that is what we aim to do; but we cannot escape from the environment while it exists. *Nolens volens* we must conform our action to it. Thus we oppose the wage system; yet we pay and receive wages. So, too, our publishing co-operative plants and supply stores are based on the capitalistic system. This is a natural necessity and there is no inconsistency in our conduct. Nor is there any inconsistency in a socialist, under given conditions, voting for a man who entertains views diametrically opposite to his own. On this point I wish to be very plain and explicit.

It is taken for granted, to begin with, that our socialist

voter is honest and desires to cast his ballot for the best interest of the cause. Take the case of a Southern cotton manufacturing city, where little children are mutilated in body, mind and soul, to minister to greed. The indignation of a part of the community is aroused at this devils' work. Some man of character, Republican, Democrat or independent, comes out as a candidate for the State Legislature, exposes these crimes, denounces the perpetrators, and makes a pledge to use his utmost endeavors, if elected, to have the children protected by law. Let us suppose that there is a socialist section in this city, but that the number of their votes will not exceed five per cent of the total vote registered, and that they have no intention of putting out a candidate of their own. Let us suppose, further, that it is a close race between the manufacturers and the hypocrites on one side and people of common humane feeling on the other, and that every vote counts.

Now, what should our socialist section do in this case? Should they argue that, child labor being merely a result of the capitalistic system, it would not be advisable to devote any effort to remove the resultant evil, and that they should reserve their force until they could lay the axe to the root of the tree? Should they hold aloof and take no part in the contest on the alleged ground that by so doing they were maintaining the integrity and solidarity of the party? I think that such conduct would provoke the just criticism from the better part of the community that the socialists were anti-social and lacking in common humanity, and that it would strengthen prejudice against them among ignorant proletarians; while, if they had taken an active part in the election, they would have made friends and strengthened themselves in those quarters where the crushing power of socialism now lies dormant.

In this local and temporary coalition there is nothing in the nature of "dicker;" reward or the hope of reward makes no figure; there is not even a squint at compromise; not an iota of principle is surrendered; class-consciousness is not impaired; and the organization of the section not only remains intact, but is strengthened by an increase of good will on the part of the better (and by "better" I mean the more humane) part of the community. In this case the principles of socialism would not be involved at all. The socialists would not vote as socialists, but as fellow sufferers with others, and would vote for a man to prevent child murder, just as they would contribute to pay for wolf scalps or to hire men to kill rattlesnakes.

The greatest obstruction to the spread of socialism is the ignorance and indifference of the proletarians. This co-opera-

tion, on proper occasions, would attract the attention and secure the favorable opinion of many of them who never read socialist literature and who have been made to believe by their political and religious teachers that the socialists want to take away the property of hard-working and saving people and distribute it among the lazy and the profligate.

When, where, how, and under what circumstances such co-operation should take place, its limitations and continuance must of necessity be determined by the local section, the district, state or national convention, as the occasion may require. Mistakes may be made, but they do no harm, provided the prompting motive be an honest one.

So far from encouraging looseness of organization, I would insist on the most rigid party discipline. Let there continue to be the widest freedom of discussion and criticism of both doctrine and tactics in the region of scientific thought. In regard to action, however, the case is totally different. Here the unanimity should be absolute. There should be but one will, and that will determined by the referendum. The Society of Jesus acts as one man, regardless of their individual opinions. Hence their amazing influence and power. We can do as much, reversing the order of the Jesuits and making the will of the majority the rule of action instead of the will of the provincial or general.

The hearty acquiescence in the will of a majority of the enrolled comrades in all matters pertaining to action, should be the test of loyalty. Hence the necessity of scrutiny and care in admitting members to the sections. The danger shall not arise from paucity of numbers, but from overloading.

Just here some one may ask: "Where are the votes to come from?" A large number—perhaps the bulk—of them should come from those who are not class conscious socialists and who are not enrolled in our organization. But the sole management and direction, the entire "machinery," as it is called, will be exclusively in the hands of the enrolled members of the sections. These only will send delegates to conventions, determine programs and nominate candidates. When the candidates are put in the field the public generally and the proletarians in particular will be cordially invited to support them.

This method will combine two separate and independent forces, but both working in the same direction and towards the same end. The first of them is the life-giving fountain and motive of pure scientific socialism; the second force is the vast ocean of prevailing discontent with existing economic and political conditions; the deeply rooted and ever growing hostility—I may say hatred—towards laws, law-makers, and

judges; which sees in present government only an instrument and an agency for the exploitation of the poor for the benefit of the rich. This enormous element of power is yet blind; it gropes in the dark; it has no organization; no medium of expression; it cannot trace the evil to its source; in its despair it grasps at every straw and in its ignorance it is constantly made the unwitting tool and victim of capitalism.

Socialism will make its greatest gain from this class, not by first making them class-conscious and then securing their votes; but first getting their votes and teaching the principles afterwards. The propaganda of pure socialism goes on, and will continue to go on, without ceasing, by day and by night, in the shop, in the field, in the social circle, in the union, in the section, from the platform, and from the press. This work is strictly educational. The work of a political campaign differs from this in not being educational, but as appealing to an education already existent. Hence the matter and the method must be different. It is proper and profitable to expound the Marxian doctrine, to explain surplus value, the origin and growth of capital, and the materialistic conception of history, before an audience called together to hear such a discussion. But what promiscuous audience, such as gather to hear campaign speeches, would have the disposition or the patience to listen to such a cold-blooded scientific array of facts and principles? It would melt away like a light snow under a hot sun. But there are grievances which they both understand and feel; and upon these the socialist speaker should enlarge and press his immediate demands.

The Communist Manifesto, by necessary implication, recognizes both a maximum and a minimum program; the former for the inner circle and the latter for the neophytes or general public. This idea is hoary with age and has been approved by universal experience on all lines of thought and action. Plato and Aristotle had an esoteric and an exoteric doctrine; when Christianity was something totally different from what now goes by that name, the Greek fathers had one school for the catechumens and another school for the "enlightened;" the Hindus and the Druids made the same distinction; the mediæval guilds had their masters and apprentices, and speculative masonry has, theoretically, the same gradations.

There is no repugnancy between the two programs; but on the contrary, the closest intimacy and interdependence. The more the popular questions are discussed in detail by intelligent socialists, the more the public mind is enlightened to

perceive that all these evils converge to a common centre, which is their common source.

If I have read aright the history of the conquests of socialism on the continent of Europe, success has been won by the employment of the method herein advocated. It is certain that this method is in accord with the almost unanimous resolutions of the late Dresden conference, which, while declaring an abiding devotion to the doctrine of revolutionary socialism, formulated at the same time a program for immediate realization.

In view of the political campaign which will soon be on us, this question is one of present and vital import. I have merely touched on a few of the salient features for the purpose of calling attention to it, and do not pretend to have elaborated the details.

IGNIKE.

[It is almost needless to say that we disagree almost entirely with positions stated above. The maintenance of a class-conscious political organization is the one hope of socialist success. To endanger that organization by temporary support of the candidates of a party whose every principle is hostile to all that socialists want would do the cause of socialism an injury infinitely greater than any possible, but very doubtful good, which any individual might be able to do for the workers. Again, the Socialist Party must not be controlled by an inner circle of "elect," but must seek constantly to include within its membership all socialist voters and then to educate them to truly socialist action.—EDITOR.]

The Philosophy of Misery.

MANY socialists accept and expound as truth that peculiar doctrine which has been rightly called "the philosophy of misery."

The advocates of this most unnatural philosophy—which seems to have been born of a misconception of the theory of evolution—lay much stress upon the assertion that a transformation for the better will only take place among the wage-earners when they are obliged to contend with acute economic conditions, and that, conversely, comparative prosperity makes them content, refusing to struggle for further improvement.

A belief in all this forces the socialist into a most peculiar and illogical position, for the platform of the Socialist party teems with measures for the immediate relief of the working class, and so—if the Socialist party should succeed in bringing partial relief to the workers—it would only result in postponing the advent of the co-operative commonwealth. To such strange ends would this most absurd doctrine lead us that, to be logical, our hands must join with those of the capitalist in fighting all paliatives and opposing all partial improvement of the conditions of the working class. More, even we should vote the capitalist ticket and assist the capitalist class to yet more power for the sake of grinding down the workers to a point of blind desperation.

History, on the contrary, records few instances where a slave race has freed itself, and gives ample evidence that extremes of hunger or oppression means abject submission to the dominating class. India, China, and even the Irish famine times, bear witness to the fallacy of the "philosophy of misery." Moreover, in the large European and American cities the poorest paid, the poorest clad and poorest nourished among the workers are always the most cringing, submissive and abject—slaves to those who provide them with a crust.

Napoleon's army at Moscow was annihilated for want of food; Coxey's army faded away when charitable "handouts" grew less and less and finally failed to supply their needs. In the South the horrible condition of the factory children calls forth neither protest nor revolt from their parents. Everywhere we see misery in plenty, but from misery *alone* revolt was never known to spring.

Just in proportion as the capitalist class can defeat the workers in their economic struggle for existence, just so much will they become subservient and submissive. While on the other hand every advantage gained by the working clas infuses it with hope and strength. The working class moves in obedience to a law of Nature. The desire for life and in the ensuing struggle for ex-

istence the class follows its immediate material interests, for it is only by attaining these material things that the class is enabled to exist. The material things necessary to the life of the workers is largely a matter of adaptation—the luxury of to-day becoming the necessity of to-morrow—and any advantage gained will be followed by an increased desire for more as the one-time luxury becomes a necessity. The working class never willingly relinquishes any advantage once attained, and out of this fact grows the misconception common to so many socialists, who regard the struggle of organized labor to retain this advantage as an evidence that the class will only strive to better its conditions when confronted with acute economic conditions. That the emancipation of the workers will be brought about by economic conditions is true, but a virile, vigorous, well-fed working class is as much an economic condition as one of cowardly, cringing submission.

If the capitalist class in this country, with the aid of the imperial power given the president by the new military bill, can succeed in defeating organized labor upon the economic field disfranchisement is sure to follow, as has already been partially accomplished in some of the Southern States. Once the economic organization of labor is destroyed, the working class will not turn to political action, but will yield humble submission and be thankful for a crust—as have the slaves of all times.

While the Socialist party goes on record as being “friendly” towards the cause of Unionism, yet much difference of opinion exists among its members as to what constitutes a friendly attitude. In the early history of the movement the question did not force itself to the front, but when it did there came on a most bitter, internal warfare, which split the party into two parts. One fraction of the party (under the banner of the S. L. P.) carried on an open warfare against the trades unions, and finally dwindled out of sight, while the larger fraction reorganized and is now the Socialist party. But the “irrepressible conflict” is again to the fore, resulting in two notable instances of “fusion” between Socialist locals and the Union Labor Party, which revived much bitter feeling among party members. Many comrades, of long affiliation with the socialist movement, now advocated a most advanced and radical position, namely, that wherever a Union Labor party representing organized labor should fight the capitalist parties for the purpose of placing the wage-working class in power the Socialist party should refrain from placing a ticket in the field and should support the Union Labor party ticket.

The international socialist movement, as represented by its international conventions, gives as its sole reason for existence “the interest of the wage-working class.” The materialistic conception of history, as expounded by Marx is, in brief, that a class moves in obedience to its material interests. With the advent of modern machinery, making possible modern capitalism, came unity

of interests among employees. The workers in each particular craft learned by experience that their interests, as far as their employment was concerned, were identical, necessitating the formation of trades unions, labor councils and national organizations. These things being so, let us consider the relations of the Socialist party to the trades unions, both in the "economic" and "political" field. It must be plain to all that if we can have relations to labor both on the economic and political field the Socialist party cannot be solely a political party. What is it then? It is a revolutionary organization of the working class, and as such is free to choose the best methods for the accomplishment of its purpose. The ballot is a weapon—and it is the choice of the party—but there are other weapons that we must use and keep well oiled, for the ballot might be taken from us. The strike, the boycott, backed by organized labor, must never be forgotten as weapons absolutely necessary in the emancipation of the working class. Imagine the Socialist party upon some future occasion casting the majority of the ballots at a national election. Would it be likely to receive a fair count, with the capitalists in complete control of the election returns? Would the capitalist class be inclined to quietly hand over to us the thumb screw by which it squeezes from labor the last drop of its labor power? No; capitalists are not simple-minded. We would cut a sorry figure indeed—in the event that the capitalists should refuse to play according to the rules of the game—if we depended solely upon the ballot as our last refuge.

Our present weapons, then, consist of the ballot, the strike and the boycott. Much has been accomplished by the strike, but above all else the boycott is at present most feared by the capitalist class. The boycott, if persisted in by a majority of the workers, would soon put the individual capitalist out of business, as has been done in many instances. Our duty then is to assist the strike and boycott by every means in our power, that we may strengthen the unions and infuse spirit into the ranks of labor.

As to political fusion, it must be plain that wherever the unions organize upon a class basis to secure power for themselves their success means the success of organized labor and must be supported by the Socialist party. If the obtaining of economic power by the unions (and who would deny that they have some economic power, or why do the capitalists fight them?) has been of advantage to the working class, so must political power be of like benefit in the same hands; and we must not fail to support and uphold those hands. Who will assert that the working class in power will not legislate for its own interests? Will the working class save itself? Do you believe it? If so, will it be by that portion of the class who, following their immediate interests, fight the capitalists for the sake of more power and more comfort *now* or the unorganized part, which tamely submit? Again we ask, upon whom should we depend, upon the unions, who are actually

now fighting the capitalist class, or upon the unorganized workers who have failed to muster courage to rebel in any form? Mark well, students of the class struggle, "without the trades unions the Socialist party in America is a rope of sand."

CLIFF, McMARTIN.

[It seems to me that the position taken by the writer of the above article involves a confusion of thought as to the respective functions of trades unions and a Socialist Party. There is no proof offered here or in any of the articles which we have seen defending this point of view that the "trade union party" is a "working class party." The "trade union in politics" may still stand for capitalist principles while "public opinion" is formed and controlled by capitalist instruments.]

Christ the Comrade.

HIS heaven was in the heart and not o'erhead;
 His home wherever in the House of Life
 The Father willed. He mourned our mortal strife—
 Man's brute-like battle to be clothed and fed,
 His soul, alas, to God and duty dead.
 He solved the riddle of world and want and woe—
 Hatred exalted and sweet Love laid low.
 Privation's wine-press, that wage toilers tread
 In bondage, was familiar to his feet,
 Whether in rural haunt or crowded street;
 Yet such his treasures of exhaustless love,
 He brought to earth the bright abodes above;
 Kindling a warmth in bosoms cold as stone;
 Giving God's balm for agony and groan.

—LUCIEN V. RULE.

Letters of a Pork Packer's Stenographer.

Chicago, Ill., April 18, 190—.

My Dear Kate:

You will see from the above address that I am back in dear, dirty old Chicago again—glued to my Remington—as of yore. I returned home just a month ago yesterday, much stronger and a great deal poorer than I went away. So poor, in fact, that the day after my arrival, I donned my most business-like frock, and bought all the morning papers to see what was doing in the stenographic line. There were the usual half-dozen ads. for "Neat and attractive—experience unnecessary; ten dollar a week" girls, that experience has taught us to shun, and an enormous demand for the girl who could serve in every capacity from correspondent to sweep, for \$6 a week; but there was only one position that looked like my sort of a place, and as I knew it was one of the kind you have to get up early in the morning to secure, I took the first car out there; met the man who employs the stenographers; was chosen from fifty applicants, and in less than five minutes was taking dictation from my new "boss", who was reading it off at the rate of about fifty knots an hour.

But the news that will most surprise you, and delights me, is, that I am in the employ of the Pork Packer who wrote these famous "Letters to His Son"! As I was engaged to be stenographer-in-chief to the General Manager of the Branch House Department, and have consequently been able to get a pretty good inside line on the way things are run here, I want to put you onto a few points from our side of the questions he wrote about. But none of the things I write, ought to be sufficiently selfish or vulgar to surprise you, after reading his pages that reeked so strongly of the sty.

You know I have maintained for a long time that men are largely products of their environment, and so I am trying to remember that it would be difficult for a Pork Packer to deal in hogs for forty years without acquiring some of the characteristics for which they are noted.

I leave at 6:30 in the morning, and generally reach home at the same hour in the evening, in time for dinner. Twelve hours at the office and en route don't leave me much strength, nor desire to study the "higher" things, in the little time I have left for myself. In fact, I am usually so tired that I prefer my bed to a favorite symphony at a Thomas concert.

We have thirty minutes at noon for lunch, when all the cattle

on the plant and in the office feed. Those in the pens get the best, because the best pays, and we get the cheapest—flap-jacks at 5 cts. apiece, and cold storage No. 3 eggs at 10 cts. each, through the benevolence of the Packing Company, although No. 1s are retailing at 25 cts. per dozen. And they tell us the Graham restaurant is run purely for the convenience of the employees!

Every morning when I come to work, I see a crowd of ragged Austrian, German, Italian, negro, Polish and American workmen in groups before the gates, who, I am told, are always waiting about the plant in the hope of getting a job when an accident occurs, or there is a call for extra men, and as I learn there are often as many as thirty men hurt here in a single day, I suppose the poor fellows do not always have to wait in vain.

The buildings are large, and would be airy, were there any air in this part of the city. They cover many acres, and throng with thousands of working men, and women, and little children every day. We are, in fact, a city in ourselves.

The first day I came down here, I noticed a golden pig that dances airily from a gilded weather vane on the top of the main office, and I am beginning to think it is more significant perhaps, than the historical calf, as an emblem of the spirit of the powers that rule over, and the methods pursued in Packingtown.

I wish you could hear Mr. King (Manager of the Branch House Department) dictate to me. He comes like a whirlwind; begins when he is about ten feet away, and talks like one possessed. He snorts and stews and gives it to the Branch House Managers good and plenty. He never writes unless something has gone wrong, and so his life is one long never-ending complaint; but he glories in it. I wonder every day of my life why the men don't resign. None of their reports are ever so good but that Mr. King growls because they are not better. They always seem to find it necessary to pay higher wages than he wants them to pay, and to sell their goods for a little less than he thinks they ought to get for them; for you know:

“The robin is joyous with one little nest;

The squirrel with *enough* is contented to rest

And would deem any more but a jest on a jest—

But WE—We are only a TRUST!”

But to continue with my dictation. There are telegrams galore, and cables to the uttermost parts of the earth, and every few minutes Mr. King goes so fast that his tongue gets twisted, and he runs into a snag. Then he backs up, side tracks, and tears on again regardless of any and every thing, and finally starts away, dictating as he goes. Then I take a long breath and wonder what parts of the mess to transpose.

He treats everybody (except the Grahams) as his natural

enemy, though they tell me he says I am one of the only two good stenographers he has had in his thirty-two years experience with the company. If he knew I had heard of it, however, he would fire me tomorrow. I really do try to please him. First, because I need the position; second, because I would rather work for a man who goes like the wind and keeps things moving, than for one whose dictation puts me to sleep; and third, because, better would a mill-stone be tied about my neck, and I be thrown into the lake, than to displease Mr. King. When anything goes wrong, he screams at the top of his voice, and everybody in that end of the office lingers around to be at the killing, and see the fun. In toto he treats us all like dogs. He has driven half the boys to drink, and the girls into nervous prostration. I wondered when the man who engages the stenographers asked if I had "strong nerves" what his object could be; but it did not take me more than ten minutes to find out, after I had met Mr. King. I suppose my turn must come next, and I want you to ask my friends to put me in a private sanitarium.

They tell me Mr. King never talks anything but packing-house, even at social entertainments. His shop is his whole house. He talks it on the cars, at lunch, and doubtless, also, he talks it in his sleep. He reminds me of those serfs who died so willingly for their lords in the feudal times, because, while he has worked faithfully for the company so many years, is poor, and old, yet he is prouder than John Graham, himself, because as I have heard him boast, "The sun never sets on the Graham hams and bacon." He is out of the city a large part of the time, when I am to substitute in other departments. This, I hope, will give me a breathing spell, as well as to acquaint me with other sides of the business.

I was here several days before I saw Mr. John Graham (the Pork Packer) himself. The papers said he had been up to Battle Creek two months, for his stomach's sake. When I opened my desk at 7:25 the morning of his return, he was already going over Branch House Reports, ferreting out shrinkages, unnecessary expenses, and questioning any rise in salaries. In less than five minutes he had "fired" one of our Branch House Managers, by wire, for not disposing of some spoiled sweet pickled meats before the health officers got after him, and had dispatched another man to take his place—also by wire. He is indeed a wonderful man in his way. From the time each hog goes into the pen, until it is disposed of to the consumer or dealer, he is able to account for every hair of its hide, and every ounce of flesh and bone (for nothing is wasted here, you know).

He is a rather short, stout, bald, red-faced man, with keen gray eyes that take in discrepancies and shortages at a glance. He

knows just how many pounds of 1 cent tallow will add a given number of pounds to 15 ct. "springs"; how to turn tough old canners at \$1.50 per hundred into that canned "Delicatessen Lunch Tongue," at 25 cts., of which you used to be so fond; how to use any old carcass to make "Spring Beauty Toilet Soap"; in short, how to make one dollar in labor produce five dollars in market value. And I would say that John Graham's relation to the production of those four dollars of profit, was just about the same as the relation our "Golden Churn" Butterine bears to the churn!

Things have changed a good deal, of course, since he wrote those letters to his son Pierpont. They have progressed, as in the past, to the advantage of the Packing Company. Pierpont's college education seems to have paid Old John very well, for they say around here, that in the five years Pierpont has been in the business, the profits of the company have been greater than his father made during all the thirty-five years previous.

Pierpont is now in London looking after that "Foreign Trade," and they tell me that the Graham Hams and Bacon are sold cheaper to those Britons than they are to us.

Tariff is a mighty profitable thing to the Packing Company when it comes to selling goods, for it keeps up the price the workingman has to pay for them, although foreign workmen can come over to compete with him on the wages he is to receive for making them.

Anyone who reads the Eastern newspapers, would naturally suppose that John Graham was a Republican, and he IS a Republican in the East. And when he claims our goods at Southern points are only held on consignment, in order to avoid the Wholesale Tax, he is a staunch Democrat, and lends his support to the friendly, prospective candidate; but first, last and always—he is a Pork Packer.

Well, I will have to wait until my next letter to tell you a dozen other things I had wanted to say today, because the Fertilizer Department has just telephoned for me to come down to take a few letters. So no more until Saturday. Address me at —— Michigan Avenue, and write soon to

Your loving

MARY.

LETTER NO. II.

Chicago, Ill., April 23, 190—.

My Dear Katherine:

Et tu, Brute! And will you join the stupid, clamoring multitude in maligning us? In pronouncing our late advance in prices exorbitant, and echoing a tune all the newspapers (not controlled by Papa Graham's friends) are singing that—

"Beef has gone so high
It has touched the sky!"

To begin with, why should our party lower the tariff on beef? It is not for this we have expended our money in legislation. And are they not sworn to "Protect us *Infant Industries*"? Would you have them recant the policies of fifteen years, and become the laughing stock of their opponents? Silly weather-cocks, as it were, making and unmaking their laws with every change in the affairs of men! What was good enough for our fathers, is surely good enough for us, and if the times have changed, it is no reason why the laws should!

Further, if you don't like our prices, remember that you are living in the "Land of the Free," and go without—you are always at liberty—to go without! Therefore, lend not your support to our nefarious machinations! Scorn, and spurn us! A vegetable diet is just as healthy anyway, and you can take a trip to California with the money!

And further, My Dear; lend me your ears. Have you not heard of the charming Sylvia Graham, daughter of our late honored partner, whose decease wrought such grief in the hearts of his countrymen, a few years ago, and who rightfully divides with her uncle—John Graham—the love of her grateful employes, and the dividends of the corporation? The beautiful Sylvia has been educated in Paris, and is about to be married to a French nobleman, provided the necessary dot is forthcoming. From the beginning of medieval history, it was the People who were taxed for the entertainments and luxuries of Wealth and Beauty, and shall it be said in America that for want of a few paltry millions a *count* was lost!

Don't grumble, My Dear, but offer your tribute gracefully, as the rest of us are doing.

I must add too, that you need not fear to grow feeble should you decide to save your money and dine beefless, as, by daily watching of the workmen who do the manual labor about the plant during their noon hour, I have perceived, that, without any exception, they seem to be vegetarians, as only bread, and sometimes pie, come forth from their dinner pails—doubtless, because they have discovered these to be more wholesome, and nourishing than meat, rather than through any dictates of economy.

I have been very busy all morning, writing our Branch House Managers to go through their letter books and destroy any evidences of our "understanding about prices with former competitors." Mr. Graham and Mr. King had a long consultation with Mr. Robinson, the company's chief attorney, which resulted in the following wire, which I dispatched to one of our Branch House Managers at a Southern point:

"Regarding summons reference Beef Trust investigation, have decided will all ignore same. Do not appear."

"*All*," of course, means the five companies in the combination; so you see, there *ARE* some real American Anarchists—if a rich man ever can be an anarchist. Father Graham was very keen about competition in those letters he wrote to Pierpont, but he was not so keen but that he buried the hatchet when he found he could make larger profits by a little understanding with his old enemies. You remember he said what he wanted was "*RESULTS*."

I wonder if you understand how omnipotent we really are! We represent the only market on which the farmer and stockman can dispose of his product, and on the other hand, we are the only people from whom the Public can buy. Of course, there is nothing monopolistic about this state of affairs. This is a "free" country. If the farmer is not satisfied with our offers, he can ship his poultry and eggs back home. The stockman can do likewise with his cattle, if he asks more than we care to pay. And the dear Public has always the privilege of—doing without.

There is a crazy little man, of the name of Hayden, at Higginsville, Ill., who is running a small butcher shop in competition with our Retail Market there. He doesn't know, of course, that the company he buys his meats of has opened a Parlor Market to compete with him, because it is not known as a Graham shop, but is run under the name of "The People's Market."

Mr. King wrote our Manager at that point to shade his prices a trifle to the consumer, and we have meanwhile raised our prices to Mr. Hayden, and Mr. King says this man ought not last two weeks.

It is only a question of time, Mr. Graham says, until we will completely do away with the middleman. There is no good reason why meat should pass through the hands of three or four men before it reaches the consumer; and he don't intend that it shall.

It looks sensible on the face of it, to me. It seems as though if a certain amount of the work necessary to present production, and distribution could be eliminated, any intelligent society would want to make use of the means to bring about such a condition. For our object ought to be, not to see how long we can be at work, but to produce enough for everybody, in the least possible time. Of course we understand that in the disorganized state of society today, this would mean still greater production, by fewer men, and greater wealth for the benefit of a few, and that the men who did the work would not be the ones to reap the harvests thereof, because every workingman would be forced to more actively compete with his brothers for the decreasing number of jobs.

Now I am not turning communist, as you inferred in your last letter. Equal distribution of wealth, unequally produced, would be only a step better than unequally distributed wealth, unequally

produced, as it is today. I would not call a society founded on Communism—even though you say Christ was a Communist—a just society, because I would only count it just when every man reaped according as he had sown; when his share in the distribution was equal to the wealth he had produced and every man starting with as nearly equal opportunities as possible. I might also add that a communist does not believe in private property, and I would very seriously object to the community using my brush, or my comb or even my poor little clothes. However, I agree with them in thinking that no man ought to own anything on which the lives of his fellowmen depend. But remember, My Dear, my theories are only in embryo.

Mr. King discharged two of our men today. One of them had been in the employ of the company for twenty-five years, and Mr. Graham said he was "too old". The other was a young cashier, who is "nervous." The moral of the story is, that you must not grow old, nor ill, if you want to hold your job. There is one thing upon which the World of Business is not founded, and that is Sentiment. It is absolutely swallowed up in the clatter of dollars and cents. And I am beginning to believe that the successful business men who are Christians are about as scarce as hens teeth. They may be Baptists, and Methodists, or Catholics, or Scientists, or Seventh Day Adventists, but it is dreadfully hard for them to be Christians. A man may want to be a Christian, but there are his children to be educated, and he decides that he would rather see his competitor's little ones working in a factory than his own, and goes in for a "lawful" or unlawful advantage.

And speaking of factories, reminds me of the manufacturer who launched me on the stenographic sea, and who grew rich hiring children and young girls to run his sewing machines, in manufacturing the dear, old flag, the "Star Spangled Banner," which has come, alas! to mean just that—millions of men, and women and little children, toiling to make money-kings of a few! I might add also that one of the brothers in this company was on the Lincoln Park Board, and belonged to the Anti-Trust Association—also the Wire Rope Association (which was "formed for the purpose of upholding prices")—which he cut behind their backs and evaded the \$500 penalty for breaking the "contract." He granted public favors, for value received, and said "I done," and "you was," and "fired" me because I told the boys in the office that the "Identity of Interest Between Employer and Employed" fable was all *ROT!* I argue the question no more, for he proved my assertion.

On the other hand, there was the lumber dealer for whom I worked, who treated every man as though he were his brother; who gave his customers what they purchased, and his employes

what they earned, and who—failed! You see many of these men are forced to push their competitors down, in order to avoid sinking themselves; so I am not blaming the individual, but the system.

Teddy has moved down on the South Side, and rooms only three blocks from our place. He takes all his dinners with me, and comes over three or four evenings out of the week. He has been working on some articles for one of the city labor journals, this month, however, and is growing thinner every day. I mean to drag him away from all things serious occasionally, or he will break down.

Have just taken some more dictation, so no more for to-day. Write often and tell all about your studies.

From your loving

MARY.

Today the City gave "us" (for private switching purposes) land valued at \$80,000. Verily, verily! as David Harum says, 'Them that has, GITS!'

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

EDITORIAL

The Socialist Opportunity.

Surely the socialists have nothing to complain of in these days unless it be of their own defects. For years we have been asking for a clear field and a fair fight in the political and economic struggle. Today we have it. Compact organizations of capitalists in employers associations and citizens' alliances present a solid front in the waging of a determined war on organized labor. The dear public receives scant consideration from either side.

On the political field the issue is drawn with no less clearness. When socialist writers pointed out four years ago that the small capitalists were making their last desperate stand beneath the leadership of Bryan, few scarcely realized how true they spoke. Today the class of little exploiters has ceased to have any economic importance. And the political situation, quick to reflect economic conditions, shows no party representing small capitalist interests. Both great political parties have kicked out those who represent middle class radicalism and reform. LaFollette of Wisconsin, who was seeking to bring some middle class reforms into the republican party, was turned down only a trifle less harder than that valiant champion of the common people William Jennings Bryan and his yellow dog William Randolph Hearst.

Never did any set of men more correctly express the characteristics of the economic class which they represent politically than do the radical democracy. Never did any one man incarnate the spirit of a class more perfectly than William Jennings Bryan incarnates that of the little would-be exploiters of America. Whoever studies this champion of a dying class at this time sees reflected all the tradesman's cowardice and clinging to departed standards, to outgrown ideas and ideals, to hopeless obstruction that always characterizes a despairing class, that especially characterizes the last struggles of a little, competitive, labor-skinning class such as ruled America, and, indeed the entire capitalist world a score of years ago. Whoever reads Bryan's editorial in *The Commoner* for July 22d will feel mingled feelings of disgust, contempt and pity struggling for expression. With unconscious sarcasm he entitles it "Democracy Must Move Forward," and we find that he wishes it to "move forward" to what? To government ownership of the railroads? No; not quite; but to *state* ownership of the railroads. Recognizing in a dim way that the general govern-

ment is forever slipping out of the control of the class which he represents he clings fondly to the hope that the state governments, themselves anachronism in the day of an *international* industrial organization, may somehow be utilized to help the little parasites retain their position upon the backs of labor. He sees that something has happened to make the little exploiter impossible, yet he repeats with oracular meaninglessness "the right of the citizen to build up an independent business and enjoy the fruits of his toil must be guaranteed to him." His hopeless ignorance of economic organization, blinds him to the fact that "the building up of an independent business" upon wage labor renders it impossible for him upon whose shoulders that "independent business" is erected "to enjoy the fruits of his toil."

But, if the sight of the whining, whipped little exploiting class excites contempt, it is hard to withhold something of admiration for the attitude of the great capitalists at the present time. At the height of their power, swaying more influence than ever any body of men has swayed since this world began, they, nevertheless, see their power threatened; they somehow blindly feel that the great elementary force of the revolutionary proletariat is about to demand every energy that plutocracy can summon to its defense. So this class gathers its hideous but gigantic form together and in fierce contempt kicks from beneath its feet the whining defenders of the little labor-skinners that it may better battle with the growing power of labor. It is as if this class had somehow gained a personal consciousness and realized the necessity of concentrating power in the hour of battle and was therefore surrendering the directing force into the hands of one little group of men. The Rockefeller and Morgan interests are today the commanding generals of the army of greed who are formulating and directing the forces of the coming conflict. They have appointed a Morton as secretary of the navy for Roosevelt; dictated the nomination of a Parker to the democratic party, written platforms which carry scant comfort to would-be allies and hangers-on, and most important of all, they have complete control of the sinews of war of both parties.

Meanwhile on the economic field the order has gone out to give no quarter. The war is to the knife and the knife to the hilt. Organized capital has declared for the destruction of organized labor, and the battlefield of Colorado shows that there are no restricting humanitarian rules in the industrial battle which they propose to wage. Yet the one weak spot in their armor, the one fatal defect in the fortification, the one hopeless weakness in their entire position lies in the fact that the soldiers who must do their fighting on the economic field as scabs, on the military field as soldiers, or on the political field with ballots, are those whose every interest, either for themselves, their family or their fellow workers make them the enemy of the system for which they are forced to fight. The workers can only be conquered by the working class; labor can only be enslaved by laborers, proletarian political servitude is made possible only by proletarian ballots. Capitalism only lives through a lie, and to tell the truth would doom it to death. When the facts shall reach the

workers, shall penetrate at last into their consciousness, the whole structure must fall.

The Socialist Party has but to make of its written and spoken message a great lens through which the events of contemporary society may cast their light upon the workers' brain. Most workers are now ready to know this truth. It is the business of the socialist to tell it to them, to make of them educated, intelligent, rebellious and constructively class-conscious socialists. This is a task that will strain the nerve and muscle of every man who knows the truth between now and the final counting of ballots in next November.

Investigation and Education for Socialists.

There is almost universal agreement among the most active, earnest and efficient workers in the Socialist Party that the most pressing need of the Socialist movement at the present time is education. Everywhere there is urgent necessity for men who have studied the great and growing literature of sociology, and who shall know how to work up into effective form the crude material which is all about us. The great libraries are filled with material, and more is being turned out daily from a thousand sources, that should be utilized by the workers in their struggle for freedom.

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW has from the beginning sought to supply this want. But no publication can effectively do this. The field to be covered is too great. The audience of readers reached is too diverse in its tastes, previous reading and mental attitudes to permit of any approach to that thorough, systematic, continuous work that is needed. This is wholly aside from the very evident fact that the editorial staff is hopelessly inadequate in every way to the task of gathering and presenting the material needed. The Socialists of other countries have met this problem by the establishment of regular educational institutions, and, as our readers are already aware, arrangements have been made to establish such an institution in Chicago during the coming winter. The responses to this suggestion have been very satisfactory, and there is every reason to believe that next November will witness the assembling of an active, earnest body of workers who will do some thoroughly systematic work which will be of great value, not only to themselves but to the Socialist work in general.

There is one phase of the work which will be undertaken there which because of its general interest deserves further notice. As far as possible all work will be carried on as a co-operative investigation by faculty and students. Certain subjects will be selected and government documents, periodicals, treatises, technical works and all other sources of information will be searched in as thorough a manner as systematic division of labor and organization of effort applied to as perfect facilities for investigation as are to be found anywhere in this country will make possible. Frequent

meetings for mutual discussion, criticism and planning of work will bring the strength of all to bear on each point. The complete result of the work will then be brought together, and if thought of sufficient value by the class the results will be published. In all cases full credit will be given to all participating in the work. No "professor" will be permitted to "grow great" on the work of others, as has so often been the case in our great capitalist universities.

In all this work special emphasis will be given to the analysis of governmental publications, state and national, and since many of these are accessible to anyone who asks for them, it will mean that the students who are trained in this work can continue after returning to their homes and can there organize other centers of investigation. Through these means the work done will result in placing much valuable material in the hands of the thousands of readers of Socialist publications, and in general to extend the influence of the work far beyond the circle of students in actual attendance.

The training of such investigators, prepared to apply scientific methods of work to the facts around them, is really of much more value to the Socialist movement than the "turning out" of half-educated soap-box orators and shallow writers. At the same time those who wish to enter the field as speakers, organizers and writers will find that they will be in constant touch with the sources of information which are inexhaustible. Hence there will be no danger of their "running dry" or becoming mere parrot-like repeaters of what has already been said and written a multitude of times.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

At this juncture the intelligent organized workingmen of the country are making inquiries regarding the labor records of the Presidential candidates in the field. It is generally admitted that "radicalism" in the old parties received the solar-plexus blow at the Chicago convention of the Republicans and the St. Louis gathering of Democrats. There will not be that feverish excitement this year that marked the silver agitation in 1896 and the issue of imperialism four years ago. Both old parties have nominated "safe and sane" candidates and both are and have been making open bids for the support of the great capitalists, and even the middle class capitalists are ignored in the scramble to please Wall street and the trust oligarchy.

Up to about a year ago Mr. Roosevelt, for some unaccountable reason, was regarded as somewhat friendly toward organized labor, but this impression undoubtedly gained circulation through the operation of a well-managed press bureau and because of the ignorance and carelessness of the workers. It is true the President was given an exceptional opportunity to pose during the anthracite strike, and when Baron Baer scolded him through the newspapers for meddling in that famous struggle it was natural that the unthinking labor men, hating the coal magnate as they do, should whoop 'er up for "Teddy." Later on, when John Mitchell was honored by being called in to lunch at the White House, the labor crowd cheered lustily, and ever since then Mitchell speaks of "me friend," President Roosevelt.

Nevertheless, Mr. Roosevelt's labor record is being investigated, and the deeper the probing goes the more interesting are the revelations. Roosevelt became generally known as police commissioner in New York city, and while he served in that capacity he applied for a patent for a new police club to be used in labor troubles. This weapon was not unlike the war clubs carried by the cannibals and savages of early history, relics of which are exhibited in museums, excepting that it was also supplied with sharp iron spikes. It is declared that the government refused to issue a patent on the club, officials claiming that it was too brutal an instrument. After Roosevelt drove the Spaniards out of Cuba and was elected Governor of New York by a grateful populace the great Croton Dam strike took place. The workers had requested that the contractors observe the eight-hour law of the state. The capitalists refused to obey the law; the public officials refused to prosecute them for violating it, and thereupon the men decided to take matters in their own hands and struck to compel the bosses to enforce the law. Did the Governor of New York applaud the workers in their endeavor to assist in applying a state law? Does the devil love holy water? No. Instead of co-operating with the men to compel observance of the law, Governor Roosevelt gave willing ear to the lawless contractors and sent the militia, many of the members of which belong to the "first families" in New York, to Croton Dam to help destroy the law that he had solemnly sworn to enforce. Roosevelt also displayed his remarkable love for the working class while governor by vetoing a number of labor bills, all of which made him popular with the capitalists—and also some laboring men.

As President Mr. Roosevelt has become conspicuous as "the father of the open shop," which title was given him by the followers of Mr. David M.

Parry because of his stand in the famous Miller case in the Government Printing Office. The charge is made that Roosevelt, fearing for his political future when Morgan, Baer and the other coal magnates resented his interference in the strike, intimated to Carroll D. Wright and other members of the anthracite commission that recognition of the miners' union, which was the great issue in that contest, must not be thought of. So the commission made its celebrated report in favor of the "open shop." Wright and his fellows were no doubt aware that while the coal magnates might pretend to be angry with the award of an increase of 10 cents a ton to the miners they were merely bluffing, because where the workers received 10 cents, as subsequent events have proven, the operators cleared an additional profit of 60 cents a ton, and moreover the advance in wages was largely confiscated by raising rents and increasing prices of necessities. What the coal magnates were contending for was to prevent recognition of the union, the principle of the "open shop," under which they could and did blacklist the leading men in the union and where they would be able to play non-union against union workmen and break the organization. They won.

The "open-shop" principle having been established in the anthracite district through government assistance, it was an easy matter for Roosevelt to take the next step and open the door in the government printery to those who would destroy unions, which has not been attempted since the civil war. Foreman Miller, who had deliberately broken the rules of the bookbinders' union and who was given every opportunity to explain his acts, which he contemptuously refused to do, was discharged by the public printer, who was the responsible head of the department; but Roosevelt played the part of dictator, declared in so many words that the union people were all wrong and the non-union man right, and endangered the discipline of the whole department by reappointing Miller.

Not satisfied with giving public expression of sympathy with and support to the "open-shop" crusade of the Parrysite trade union wreckers in the anthracite strike and the Miller case, President Roosevelt has given organized labor another deliberate slap in the face by conferring a high honor upon one of the leading opponents of the unions. Mr. Paul Morton, vice-president of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railway, which is now making a bitter fight to introduce the "open shop" and is the only railway on the unfair list of the A. F. of L., has been appointed secretary of the navy. Morton is the son of ex-Secretary of Agriculture Morton, of Grover Cleveland's regime, who became more or less famous by publicly declaring that "a dollar and a half a day is enough for any laboring man." Morton was the general passenger and ticket agent of the C. B. & Q. during the great strike of the engineers on that road in 1888, in which the men were defeated and at the time of his appointment was also and still is connected with the Colorado Fuel & Iron Co., a Rockefeller institution and a concern that took the lead in the war to destroy the unions in the Rocky Mountain region. That Rockefeller dictated the appointment in order to hold the inside track for products of the United States Steel Corporation may be true as charged, but there are also union machinists, boilermakers and shipbuilders who are of the opinion that Morton was boosted into the place to begin an "open-shop" fight against their organizations after election. It is now no longer a mystery why the strenuous occupant of the White House refused to take cognizance of the Colorado outrages, although he did considerable gallery playing when Perdicarus, a rich padrone and plutocrat, who was in the Far East to engage cheap labor, was kidnaped and held for ransom.

Probably another reason why Roosevelt turned down tens of thousands of petitions to uphold the Constitution in Colorado and exercise his authority as commander-in-chief of American arms to end the war in that state is found in the fact that General Bell was one of "Terrible Teddy's" rough riders in Cuba, stumped New York State when the latter ran for governor, and they "swung around the circle" together in Colorado in the campaign

of 1900. The connection between Roosevelt and the "open-shop" fanatics and the Rockefeller-Peabody-Bell tyrants has become so plain that even the most partisan Republican workingmen make no attempt to advance excuses or explanations.

But not only did Roosevelt act in an antagonistic, lawless and contemptuous manner in a crisis in which the shorter workday was at stake while he was governor of New York State, and not only is he a champion of the vicious "open-shop" principle, which means open war upon organized labor, but in his book, "American Ideals," vol. 11, page 18, he also takes a smash at another demand of the trade unions, viz.: the abolition of the jug-handled injunction system when labor and capital are engaged in industrial combats, when capital can always secure assistance from the courts, and labor never. Says Mr. Roosevelt: "Men who object to what they style 'government by injunction' are, as regards the essential principles of government, in hearty sympathy with their remote skin-clad ancestors, who lived in caves, fought one another with stone-headed axes, and ate the mammoth and wooly rhinoceros."

While Mr. Roosevelt ignored the eighthour law of New York State and actually tried to destroy it with the militia, his Democratic opponent, Judge Alton B. Parker, a member of the Court of Appeals, the highest judicial body in the Empire State, also took a hand in the game. After considerable effort and expenditure of good trade union money in the endeavor to have the law enforced it was carried to the Court of Appeals. Judge Edgar M. Cullen, Democrat, wrote the decision declaring that the law of 1899 making it a punishable offense for contractors on public work to require their employes to work more than eight hours a day was unconstitutional. Judge Parker joined in the decision, as did six Republican judges. The law was killed on April 28, 1903. Another law, that requiring contractors on public work to pay the prevailing rates of wages, for which the organized workers of New York lobbied and labored for a number of years, was also declared unconstitutional by the Court of Appeals and with Judge Parker's sanction. These are the only instances on record in which the Democratic nominee had the opportunity of giving public and official expression of his position on labor questions, and unquestionably a great many working people are thankful that he was not put to the test more often. That he is a haughty aristocrat is well known, and that he is a candidate of a large fraction of the Eastern plutocrats is acknowledged. August Belmont, the American representative of Rothschilds, financed Parker's campaign before the nomination, and eye-witnesses charge that Belmont purchased hungry Bourbon delegates from the South almost openly and in droves during the St. Louis convention. Judge Parker controls stock in many of the large trust and combines, among them the Standard Oil Company, and his nomination has created as great satisfaction in Wall Street as would have the naming of Grover Cleveland himself.

It is worth noting that all the great capitalistic dailies, trust magnates and financial manipulators declare that both Roosevelt and Parker are "Safe and Sane," and, just as the workingmen with capitalistic minds and hungry stomachs will have trouble in "choosing the lesser evil," so the plutocrats will find it difficult to select the sweetest of their two charmers. It's heads and the capitalists win; it's tails and labor loses. No matter which is elected, Roosevelt or Parker, the Standard Oil Co. and its brood of trusts will own a president.

With two such Dromios of Capitalism to oppose, Eugene V. Debs, the standard-bearer of the Socialist party, may consider himself fortunate indeed. He will poll a vote that will be heard around the world and bring hope and renewed inspiration to the oppressed of all lands. Contrast the proud record of this stalwart champion of labor with that of either, or both, of the candidates of the Capitalists.

Debs, at the age of 15, began work in the Vandalia railway shops in 1870.

Afterwards he worked as fireman on a freight engine for several years and became a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. He was made editor of the *Brotherhood Magazine* in 1877, and three years afterwards he was chosen general secretary and treasurer, a position which he occupied for thirteen years, resigning in 1893 to organize the American Railway Union, which was intended to unite the railway workers of America in one great organization.

Within a year the Great Northern railway strike was fought and won. Through this contest the wages of thousands of workers from St. Paul to the Pacific coast were saved from reduction and the railway managers awoke to the fact that they had a new power with which to grapple.

In May, 1894, the famous Pullman strike occurred. Unable to affect a settlement by arbitration, the A. R. U. took up the matter in the national convention in session at Chicago in June. As a result a boycott was declared against the Pullman cars, to take effect July 1. Within a few days the entire railroad system of the country extending from Chicago West and South to the Gulf and Pacific coast was tied up and the greatest labor war in the country's history was on.

On July 2, 1894, Judges Woods and Grosseup, of Chicago, issued a sweeping "omnibus" injunction. Mr. Debs and associates were arrested for contempt of court on alleged violation of the injunction. They were tried in September, but Judge Woods did not render a verdict until December, when he condemned Mr. Debs to six months' imprisonment and his associates to three. The case was carried to the Supreme Court, which sustained the lower court, and in May, 1895, the imprisonment in Woodstock jail began. The term expired on November 22, 1895, and on the evening of that day the prisoner was tendered a reception in Chicago the like of which that city had never seen.

Debs and his associates were also indicted and placed on trial for conspiracy, and the trial continued until the evidence of the prosecution had all been heard, but suddenly when the defence began to testify, a juror was taken ill during a temporary adjournment and the trial abruptly terminated in spite of all efforts of the defendants to have it continued. They were anxious to bring the General Managers' Association into court and show who were the real law breakers and destroyers of property. An acquittal by a jury upon substantially the same charge as that upon which they were imprisoned for contempt would have been fatal to Judge Woods.

On January 1, 1897, Debs issued a circular to the members of the A. R. U., entitled "Present Conditions and Future Duties," in which he reviewed the political, industrial, and economic conditions, and came out boldly for socialism. Among other things he said: "The issue is this, Socialism vs. Capitalism. I am for socialism because I am for humanity. The time has come to regenerate society—we are on the eve of a universal change."

When the A. R. U. met in national convention in Chicago, in June, 1897, that body was merged into the Social Democracy of America, with Debs as chairman of the national executive board. The following year (1898) the Social Democratic party was started as a result of a split in the Social Democracy. In 1900 Debs was nominated for president as candidate of the Social Democratic party, which was afterwards merged into what is now the Socialist party.

During the past seven years Debs has devoted all his time to lecturing and writing for socialism and labor questions generally, and has also taken part in some notable strikes in the industrial and mining centers of the East and West. He has visited every state during his travels and carried the Socialist message into more places than probably any other man in America.

Which shall it be, Roosevelt, the "open shop" candidate; Parker, the Wall Street candidate—both Rockefeller's men—or Debs, the workers' candidate?

SOCIALISM ABROAD

Russia.

All of the European papers are filled with stories of the tremendous unrest which the revolutionary forces are now causing in all parts of Russia. The *Schlesische Zeitung* of Breslau publishes a long survey of the socialist party of Russian Poland from which we take the following facts: The party was founded in 1893, although there had been various forerunners of its existence in the form of sporadic organizations. The party has always held as one of its demands the freeing of Poland from Russian dominion and as such has drawn to itself many supporters of a purely patriotic character. Nevertheless there is a tendency for the proletarian portion to drop this patriotic side and become more distinctly in accord with international socialism. The party has an extensive organization outside Poland, which was founded in 1892, and which was united to the continental party organization in 1899. The seat of this "Union of Polish Socialists in Foreign Countries" is in London. Its main purpose is the publication and circulation of revolutionary writings. Such writings increased from 29,467 copies in 1895 to 177,860 in 1903. These figures are relatively much more significant than appears at first sight since all these publications are kept passing from hand to hand, thus reaching a large number of persons. This movement is now taking on new life and making preparations for a violent revolution against Russia.

The Berlin *Vorwaerts* tells of a street demonstration which was held in Warsaw recently in which thousands of laborers marched through the streets carrying revolutionary banners. Without any warning the police opened fire upon them, but to the surprise of the officials the laborers, so far from flying, turned upon the police with stones and such rude weapons as they could secure, and drove them back. The police then called to their aid 50 Cossacks, who were stationed in the city. These also were met with resistance and cries of "Down with Czarism. Hurrah for political freedom; hurrah for social democracy." The Cossacks were driven back and telegrams sent for military reinforcements. On their arrival several hours after that, although the streets were practically clear, they fired two volleys, wounding a woman and child who were sitting in a window. The total casualties so far as reported were eight dead upon the side of the laborers and an equal number of dead and thirty wounded among the police and military.

From *Le Socialiste* we learn that the Finnish socialist movement is also undergoing a rapid revival and increasing in strength.

According to figures turned in by the government officials, 10 per cent. of the laborers belong to the Finnish Social Democratic Party. Some idea of the brutality which is exercised against them by the Russian government is seen by the fact that the number of political criminals in the prison at Kief was 285 in 1901, 453 in 1902, and 1,022 in 1903. The government has been obliged in many places to rent outside buildings in order to transform them into prisons.

From the *London Justice* we learn that: "In the month of April no less than 1,000 kilogrammes of illegal literature were given out in Russia by the Russian Social-Democrats, *e. g.*, 102,350 copies of the May manifesto, 30,400 copies anti-war manifesto, and 4,900 other pamphlets. The Jewish Federation issued 50,000 anti-war manifestos and 132,000 anti-war manifestos in Russian and Yiddish. Demonstrations were held everywhere."

Here is a force much more dangerous to the continuance of Russian despotism, much more fraught with significance for the future than any that may be brought against it in the far East.

Sweden.

The annual report of the Social Democratic party of Sweden for 1903 has just appeared, and shows that the party is steadily growing. The work of agitation has extended from the southern coast to Kiruna in the extreme north. It is especially in the farming communities that the agitation has been directly conducted by the party organization, since within the cities the labor organizations are for the large part capable of themselves carrying on the agitation. During the year covered by the report two salaried agitators were engaged. At the beginning of the year the membership of the party amounted to 49,190 in 746 organizations, at the conclusion of the year there were 54,552 member and 761 organizations.

BOOK REVIEWS

The flood of pamphlets has now grown so great that any attempt to review each one would require far more space than we are able to give. The past month has been especially prolific in this line as might be expected in view of the approaching campaign. Without a shadow of doubt the two pamphlets most deserving of attention that have appeared recently are those by the National candidates of the socialist party, and this is not because they were written by the candidates but because they are written upon subjects of burning interest in a masterly manner. "Unionism and Socialism" by Eugene V. Debs, published by the Standard Publishing Company of Terre Haute, Ind., (44 pp., 10 cents) is, in our opinion, by far the best thing that has yet been said upon this much written-about subject. Based on sound international socialist logic, but drawing its facts and illustrations exclusively from the American labor movement, with which no man is more familiar than Comrade Debs, it seems hard to believe that any trade unionist who should read this convincing logic and eloquent appeal could fail to accept its conclusions.

Ben Hanford's "The Labor War in Colorado," published by the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association, (45 pp., 5 cents) tells the story of the outrages in Colorado in a manner that should burn them into the mind of every reader. Those who have heard Comrade Hanford speak, or read his writings, know that few men have command of a more simply eloquent English than he. He has known just how to write upon this subject. No tricks of rhetoric, no piling up of invectives, no careful elaborate phrasing could be one-half as eloquent as the plain, simple facts told in the language of the working man. There are facts here that burn like hot iron, there are single paragraphs that contain facts enough to start a revolution, and we believe that if the workers of this country can be brought to a familiarity with these facts as they are told in this pamphlet that the revolution will be on.

The National office has published a series of pamphlets and leaflets of great value for the campaign. One of these is Comrade Hanford's "What Workingmen's Votes Can Do," which has been re-written for this edition.

A. W. Ricker's "The Political Economy of Jesus," published by the *Appeal to Reason* (40 pp., 10 cents) is in a field on which little has been done in America hitherto. We cannot say that Comrade Ricker has been wholly successful. He has evidently taken too much stock in the work of Osborne Ward and has read much of modern society back into the times of Christ. Notwithstanding these defects, the work is one which placed in the hands of those who are religiously inclined will prove a good introduction to socialism.

E. N. Richardson's "stenographic" reports of the arguments "At Finnegan's Cigar Store" makes a series of sharp, cutting little conversations that will be read by those who are too lazy intellectually to tackle something heavier. They will also help to emphasize many points in the socialist philosophy which might be covered up or overlooked in more pretentious writings.

Ernest Untermann's "Sparks of the Proletarian Revolution," published by the *Appeal to Reason*, (48 pp., 10 cents) is a series of essays on various subjects, most of which have previously appeared in socialist papers, es-

pecially in the *Appeal to Reason*. Taken as a whole, they cover much of the philosophy of socialism in a well written manner. It is an excellent propaganda pamphlet.

Allan L. Benson's "Confessions of Capitalism," published by the *Social Democratic Herald*, (25 pp., 10 cents) is a statistical argument for socialism. It is written in easy journalistic style, and makes its points quite clearly and is a good thing to hand to those whose minds work in figures.

"The Day of Judgment," George D. Herron, published by Charles H. Kerr and Company, (30 pp., 10 cents) is a re-writing of an article which appeared in the May number of the *INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW*, and as such is familiar to our readers. It is one of the strongest arguments against our present society and the forces that are working for its disintegration and for re-integration and especially of the part which is to be played in this process by the conscious socialist mind, that has ever been written.

Charles E. Cline's "The Social Catechism" is the latest number of the Pocket Library, published by Charles H. Kerr and Company, 5 cents, and is a statement of the socialist position in the form of questions and answers. With many people this is by far the best method of argument. The answers in most cases are taken from well known socialist writers and such liberal references are given as to make the work practically a handy bibliography of socialism.

"The Struggle for Existence," by Walter Thomas Mills, published by the author. Cloth, 640 pp., \$2.50.

This is by far the most pretentious work yet put forth by an American socialist. It is practically encyclopedic in scope. The six parts into which it is divided are entitled: Clearing the Ground, Evolution of Capitalism, Evolution of Socialism, Questions of Controversy, Current Problems, Organization and Propaganda. The first part is a survey largely of biological and geological facts bearing on evolution. The second deals with "Slavery, Serfdom, the Wage System, the Era of Invention, the Trust and the World Market, and the Collapse of Capitalism." The third and fourth parts deal largely with the socialist philosophy, looked at from various points of view and applied to diverse questions. The book is written in a remarkably clear, simple style, capable of being understood by any one who is able to read journalistic literature. It is very convincing in its method of statement and should go far toward making any man a socialist who reads it.

Notwithstanding this, there is much to criticise. Many questions on which the most thorough students are still disagreed are settled offhand in his work without the slightest consideration of opposing views. This is especially true in the part dealing with historical evolution.

Again, there are many sweeping statements which are only partially, if at all, true. For instance, we are told on page 111 that "no important improvement was made during the whole period of civilization until very recent years" in the tools of production. This is evidently a complete swallowing of the "Dark Ages" theory which capitalist historians have so carefully cultivated, forgetting that it was from this age that the greatest improvement in many means of production dated.

Perhaps the most vital defect in the work is that it seems to accept something very analogous to the *Socialisme Integral* of Benoit Malon which has constituted the only socialist philosophy in antagonism to that of the comparative, historical, class struggle position. According to this theory society as a whole is engaged in a struggle for perfection. Everything that is not of present value never has been of value. Slavery, serfdom, tyranny and class rule are inherent evils with no historical function.

In one case, page 153, it is stated that "this bitter economic war" between victor and captive, master and slave, etc., has been between two powers, "the one in an ascending sequence of increasing power, the other a descending sequence of increasing servitude." History, and especially socialist history, shows that the exact reverse of this rule is true. The work-

ing class has been continually increasing in power, the ruling class decreasing, and the wage slave, notwithstanding the fervid statements of occasional socialist orators, is really the freest and most powerful of all the generations of producers. Were it otherwise, the future of socialism would be black indeed.

On the other hand, he makes collectivism, democracy and equality "inherent in the natural and necessary relations of human existence." Leaving aside the criticism of phraseology which makes use of the bourgeois catchwords, the fact is, events in history have simply been facts which played their part in social evolution, and slavery and tyranny played their part and often fully as useful a one as did democracy and equality, and no persons have been more insistent in pointing out this truth than the socialists.

We also find the repetition of an error which seems somehow to have grown fast to the American socialist movement to the effect that the American Revolution was originated and carried on by working men. Page 483.

The real point of the class struggle philosophy is completely missed, which is that the proletariat today incarnates all the forces of social progress, and has as its inevitable function the carrying of society on into the next higher social stage. It is the consciousness of this function and not the mere recognition of divergent class interest that constitutes "class consciousness," contrary to the statement on page 274.

There is altogether too much of the utopian position in telling about what will happen "under socialism." Some of these guesses are probably right, and others wrong, but since we do not claim to have any gift of prophecy in this direction we shall not attempt to say which are true and which false.

There is also a frequent tendency to attempt to please all parties on disputed questions. This is seen in the discussion of the theory of value, where the effort is made to show that all theories lead to a common end. The text, however, shows but very little knowledge of the theories discussed, and no such simple harmony as he attempts is possible. The same thing is true of the discussion, "Who Pays the Taxes?" P. 520.

One of the weakest things about the book is found in a feature which has been quite loudly praised in many places, and that is the series of footnotes and references to other literature. These have every appearance of having been hunted up and put in by another person than the one who wrote the text. Sometimes the text will show a total misunderstanding of the author who is quoted in the notes. Neither are the references well chosen. Over and over again the most important authorities on subjects are entirely neglected. For instance there is a discussion of criminology with no mention of Ferri's work; several discussions of the family with no mention of Westermarck or Bebel, a discussion of education and socialism and no mention of Dewey, a very superficial discussion of increasing and diminishing returns and no mention of Commons. There is a discussion on pp. 299-302 on schools of economics which contains a large number of errors and no reference whatever to any of the works treating of this special phase of the subject. We find the well known Austrians Von Wieser and Boehm-Bawerk appearing under the names of Wirser and Bawerk as a section of the historical school of economists, something which would cause them to rise in fierce indignation since there are few more antagonistic positions than those of the Austrian psychological and German historical schools. It would be easy to go on picking out errors of this sort, but enough has been said to show the general character of these defects.

Nevertheless these errors are none of them of vital importance, and do not seriously affect the value of the book, which we have no hesitancy in saying is a most important contribution to American socialist literature. Its popular style, wide sweep of subjects and manner of treatment is bound to give it considerable influence in the work of socialist education.

THE PROBLEMS OF THE PRESENT SOUTH. Edgar Gardner Murphy. Macmillan. Cloth, 335 pages. \$1.50.

As a presentation of southern problems by a southerner—one who tries to take a national view—this book is a distinct contribution to some very pressing problems in American social life. The author points out the pre-eminently rural character of the south, showing that any one of several southern states has a larger urban population than the entire south. This, with the race problem and the poverty engendered by the Civil War, makes the question of education an extremely difficult one. He has been actively engaged in the effort to secure better child labor legislation and gives many interesting facts on this subject. He shows how the mill owners, largely northern men, while professing intense sympathy with the child laborers, supported a lobby to defeat all legislation for the protection of the little workers. Throughout the work the point of view is continuously maintained that everything must be done for the negro and the working class. They are looked upon as wards of the ruling class of the south and of the nation. "Incredible as it may seem, the demand for the use of the children has come in many instances from the mills rather than from the parents," is one of the naive observations which he makes. One interesting fact among the great many to which he calls attention is that, great as is the illiteracy of the south, it is decreasing; while on the other hand that of the north, while at present small, is growing greater.

The passage in which he contrasts the labor on the farm with that in the factory is so strong and so general in its application as to be worth quoting entire. "Have they not always worked upon the farm, and upon the farm have not their fathers and forefathers worked before them? Wrought upon at first more by ignorance and apparent need than by avarice, though avarice follows fast, the father and mother do not easily perceive the difference for the child between factory labor and farm labor. It is true that the work of the factory—especially for the younger children—is often lighter than the work brought to the child upon the farm. But the benumbing power of factory labor lies not so much in its hardness as in its monotony. Picking up toothpicks from a pile, one by one, and depositing them in another, may be light work, but when continued for twelve hours a day it is a work to break the will and nerve of a strong man. The work of the factory means usually the doing of the same small task over and over again—moment in and moment out, hour after hour, day after day. Its reactive effect upon the mind is dullness, apathy, a mechanical and stolid spirit, without vivacity or hope. The labor of the farm is often hard, but it is full of the play and challenge of variety. It is labor in the open air. It is labor, not under the deadening and deafening clatter of machinery, but under the wide spaces of the sky, where sound comes up to you from free and living things, from things that may mean companionship, and where the silence—brooding—passes and repasses as a power of peace and healing. Upon the farm the child labors, as it labors in the home, under the eye of a guardianship which is usually that of the parent, which is full of a personal solicitude even if it be not full of intelligent affection. In the factory the child works as an industrial unit, a little member of an industrial aggregate, under an oversight which must, of necessity, be administrative rather than personal. Letting your own child work for you is a wholly different thing from letting another man work your child."

There is a very valuable appendix giving statistics of illiteracy, voting population and other industrial and social facts bearing upon the subjects treated in the book.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

Bound Volumes of the Review.

The fourth volume of the *INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW*, including the twelve numbers from July, 1903, to June, 1904, inclusive, will be ready for delivery by the time this issue is in the hands of its readers. This makes four volumes now available in uniform cloth binding; price two dollars a volume postpaid, with the usual discount to stockholders. We can also supply Volumes II, III and IV in separate numbers at the rate of one dollar a volume postpaid, to stockholders fifty cents a volume postpaid. The third number of Volume I, September, 1900, is out of print, and we will gladly give any of our literature to the amount of twenty-five cents to any one who will return a copy. Some of the other numbers of the first volume are very scarce, but we can for the present supply the other eleven numbers at one dollar, or to stockholders at fifty cents. It will soon be impossible to supply the first volume at all, and we reserve the right to advance the price at any time. Nothing can take the place of a complete set of the *INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW* for the use of any student who desires a record of the thought and activity of the international socialist movement.

The Social Science Series.

We have just received from England a new supply of these valuable books, so that we are ready to fill orders for any of the numbers listed on pages 22 and 23 of "What to Read on Socialism," a copy of which will be mailed to anyone requesting it. We have also a few copies of a number of this series entitled "The New Reformation and Its Relation to Moral and Social Problems," by Ramsden Balmforth. The book retails for one dollar, and while our present supply lasts our stockholders may purchase copies at the same discount we make on books included in our catalogue.

An Equitable Exchange System.

This is an interesting, suggestive and valuable work by Alfred R. Justice, of Philadelphia. It discusses the theories advanced to justify interest on money, and shows that interest is a necessary outgrowth of the competitive system, and can only disappear with the disappearance of that system. The author also discusses wages, profit, rent, overproduction and Malthusianism, and has a chapter outlining certain constructive suggestions toward the reorganization of production on a co-operative basis. The style is easy and simple, and the book will prove an excellent one to

put into the hands of former populists and reformers who realize that their organization has disappeared, but who hesitate to join the Socialist party because they do not yet understand that equality of opportunity under the competitive system has become impossible. The book is handsomely printed in large type and neatly bound in cloth. The author has contributed several hundred copies to be sold for the benefit of the co-operative publishing house. We have fixed the retail price at 40 cents, postage included, subject to the usual discount to stockholders, so that a copy will be mailed to any stockholder for 24 cents.

Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History.

Do not forget that the most important Socialist book of the past year is Labriola's "Essays On the Materialistic Conception of History," which we publish in a translation by Charles H. Kerr. Historical Materialism is the basic principle of Socialism, but it is easy to misunderstand it, and to accept a few trite phrases in place of ideas. Labriola's book will enable any careful student to gain a grasp of fundamental principles that will enable him to do his own thinking, and tell for himself whether platforms and resolutions are or are not in harmony with international Socialism. The author, who was a professor in the University of Rome, and one of the very foremost Socialist writers of Europe, died just after the appearance of this translation, and one of his last acts was to write a letter expressing his joy that though his disease made it impossible for him to speak at Rome, we enabled him to speak at Chicago. (Cloth, \$1.00 postpaid.)

An Opinion from Comrade Debs.

"The new book of Isador Ladoff on 'American Pauperism' adds one of the strongest volumes to the literature of the Socialist movement in America. It is invaluable for reference as it is packed with facts supported by figures from reliable sources and so admirably arranged that it can be drawn on at will without fear of disappointment. It required the most painstaking labor and the most thorough research to produce this volume and no Socialist or student of Socialism or of social problems should be without it. It is an arsenal packed with munitions for the social revolution. Every speaker should have it in his grip and every writer at his elbow, and all Socialists should combine to give it continental circulation.

EUGENE V. DEBS."

(The book is published in the Standard Socialist Series, cloth binding, at 50 cents, postpaid.)

Clearing the Co-operative Publishing House from Debt.

That is what we are doing. The last few issues of the REVIEW contain acknowledgments of pledges and contributions made for this purpose. But the lists are to a certain extent misleading, because promises appear in the same column with actual payments.

Now the offer already referred to in this department of the REVIEW made by the heaviest creditor of the company, is to contribute from the balance due him a sum equal to all other contributions paid in during the

year 1904. To make clear to the stockholders just what progress is being made under this offer toward paying off the debt, we will repeat here the actual contributions in cash, not pledges, made since the beginning of the year 1904, and including everything received up to the time of going to press with the August number of the REVIEW.

List of Contributions.

John J. Hamilton, Iowa.....	\$ 10.00
Mrs. S. D. Whitney, California.....	10.00
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Total to July 31, 1904.....	\$1,429.14

Here is the start that has been made. The amount still due to the creditor making the offer is over \$8,000. He is willing to contribute the entire amount to the company, provided it is duplicated by the aggregate of the other contributions during 1904. If this can be accomplished it will more than double the efficiency of the company in the work it has to do. It will clear off all the outside debt, and leave enough working capital to push the circulation of our literature on a far larger scale than ever before. Moreover, it will put the control of the company safely in the hands of the stockholders holding single shares, without any possible interference on the part of the creditors, since there will be no creditors. Even \$2,500 would enable us to pay off practically every claim to those who are not stockholders, and insure the control of the company by its friends. The company is already in better condition than at any previous time, but we must face the possibility of a financial panic and be prepared for it. A comparatively slight sacrifice on the part of each stockholder will put any danger out of the question.

A Word to Non-Stockholders.

This appeal has been thus far to those who have already shown their interest in the work of the company by subscribing for its stock. But how about the Socialists who have as yet done nothing to help the work?

The first stockholders put their money in on faith and took their chances, because they wanted to see Socialist books published, and believed that the managers of the company would do it if given the money. At the start, the stockholder's privilege of buying Socialist books at cost amounted to nothing, because there were so few books on the list. Now the privilege is so important that many locals and individuals have bought stock for the simple reason that by so doing they could get more literature for their money than otherwise. We have lately received a subscription for stock and a large order for books from the London County Council of the Social Democratic Federation of England. This in itself is pretty good evidence as to the international standing of our company and the character of our literature. Every new stockholder gets at once the advantage of the investments made by all the former stockholders, in the shape of a large variety of Socialist books at cost prices to select from. On the other hand, every new stock subscription makes all the old

shares more valuable, because it makes possible the publication of additional literature at cost prices.

We have a plan of organization which commands the confidence of the Socialist movement everywhere. We have the nucleus for what will become a great Socialist publishing house, and we have already the largest and best stock of Socialist literature in the English language. The great need of the American Socialist movement is more and better literature. That need we can supply as fast as the necessary capital can be subscribed. If you can spare ten dollars, send it and get a full-paid certificate. If not, subscribe for a share at the rate of a dollar a month for ten months, and you have all privileges of a stockholder except voting, while the share is being paid for. There are now 950 stockholders; there should be 2,000 by the end of the year. If there is anything about the proposition you do not understand, write and you will get a prompt answer. Address Charles H. Kerr & Company (Co-operative), 56 Fifth avenue, Chicago, Ill.